

TEACHERS OF ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE

THEIR TRAINING AND PREPARATION

Edited, with an introduction, by

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INTRODUCTION

It is the merest commonplace today to call English a world language, distinguished not only by active communities in most continents speaking it as a mother-tongue but remarkable for its ubiquity as a second language. Since the spread of English has often coincided with the growth of education, trade and commerce, or with *technical and economic development*, in some areas its use has become popularly associated, if not identified, with *material progress*. It is, however, appropriate to consider in educational terms the enormous responsibility which now devolves on teachers of English—and more particularly on the trainers of such teachers—because of the vital place which English now occupies in educational curricula throughout the world. If few books have been written about this subject, it is probably because it is so large and has so many aspects—and not because it is of limited interest.

Formerly, some observers in Britain and the United States perhaps regarded this expansion of English overseas, especially in Asia and Africa, with a touch of complacency. Some even saw English as a means to carry British or American cultural and political influence to areas where this might be advantageous to Britain or America. Such a view has, however, seldom been held for long by expatriate teachers of English working in countries where the language has had to serve a necessary educational purpose—for use as a medium for learning. On the other hand, local feeling that the use of English is prejudicial to the growth of national independence has caused some opposition to its teaching, especially in Asia.

For well over a hundred years English has been taught in schools abroad, not merely as an optional extra to an education which could be quite adequate without it, but for use in school and after as a necessary means of communication. The earliest major example of English in this role was provided by India, where it was adopted in the nineteenth century as a medium of general education, largely because at the time no other language seemed available for the purpose. Justification was not difficult, and to many there was manifest truth in Macaulay's prophecy of 1835:

The claims of our language it is hardly necessary to recapitulate. It stands pre-eminent even among the languages of the West. . . . Whoever knows that language has ready access to all the vast intellectual wealth which the wisest nations of the earth have created and hoarded in the course of ninety generations. . . . It is likely to become the language of commerce throughout the seas of the East.

The extension of 'English education' from India to other parts of Asia and Africa in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries made it seem almost possible that in good time all the educated classes in such areas might speak English. The old Empire administered by English-speaking expatriates would be converted into a new Commonwealth to be governed by English-educated politicians.

But nationalism, as well as more sober educational considerations, brought a reaction to the over-extended use of English as an educational medium. In India, English was clearly the tongue of an imperialist and colonial power, to be resisted on political and cultural grounds (although its educational advantages were never overlooked). And quite recently, national self-consciousness in several Asian countries (such as Burma, Ceylon and Malaya) has demanded the replacement of English by a national language. At the same time some countries where there has been no former colonial dependence on Britain have extended the teaching of English as an essential second language—Indonesia and Thailand for example.

Much of Macaulay's foresight was valid enough. If the vision of English as a distinctive cultural or ideological agent in Asia (or indeed in Africa) is now a little faded, for certain material purposes English is now more widely acceptable than ever before. When the total numbers receiving secondary or higher education were small, it was conceivable that all might be effectively educated through the medium of English. In such conditions English might indeed have become a kind of mandarin language for the top people who read *The Times* of those days. But today the vast and rapid expansion of education to embrace much of the ordinary population has made the extended use of English as a general teaching medium administratively frightening, even where believed desirable on educational grounds. It may be true that today more pupils are spending more time learning English than ever before, but these are a shrinking proportion of those now receiving educa-

tion and of the total population. Those that now learn it do so less for general cultural than for particular vocational purposes: it is immensely important as a medium for science and technology; it is pre-eminently the language of 'development'; ability to use it may qualify for entry into an international community of wealth, power and influence.

In *Commonwealth African countries*, English is still accepted as the normal medium of secondary education and its use as such has had virtually no opposition from indigenous languages as in Asia. Countries such as Nigeria, Ghana, Kenya, Uganda and Zambia are linguistically divided if not fragmented. Where no African language can be dominant, English serves not only as a common educational medium, but as a *lingua franca necessary for the unity of the State*. But the acceptance of English as the language of education to the exclusion of any other at the secondary level is placing almost intolerable burdens on the teaching of English in the primary schools which must prepare pupils for this. Intensity of learning has often to compensate for deficiencies of teaching.

In other parts of the world, where English has not the same educational responsibility, its value to the learner, professionally and economically, is still more widely accepted than ever before. It is a fruitless exercise to try to estimate the total number of people in the world who now 'know' English as a second language. A definition of knowing a language is difficult enough, and even more difficult to apply on a wide scale. There might also be problems in defining English, for one of its characteristics (or liabilities) as a world language is the growth of a variety of spoken forms, accents or dialects. Indeed, it is an urgent problem to determine exactly how far such variations can go before communication breaks down; before, in fact, English ceases to serve its purpose as an international language freely understood by all who learn it in many different parts of the world.

To the educator, whether teacher or administrator, grave problems arise from the very popularity of English and from world-wide demands for its teaching. Adequate teaching requires both a sufficient number of teachers to staff the schools and a minimum level of efficiency in their teaching. It is of little use concentrating on one at the expense of the other. Striking a balance between these two factors in any particular country is

the affair of its educational administration. If the numbers learning English are small, it may be possible to rely on the services of expatriate teachers who themselves speak English as their mother tongue. But if the numbers are large, such a solution becomes impossible; the expense becomes too great. Nor is it acceptable that a very large proportion of the teachers in schools should permanently be foreigners. Although overseas aid programmes are providing large numbers of English teachers for many developing countries, they should only be regarded as temporary help until local teachers can be trained in sufficient numbers to staff the schools permanently.

Contributors to this volume deal with technical problems of training teachers of widely different backgrounds, from those who speak English as their mother tongue to those whose training must include quite elementary instruction in learning English. None of the chapters deals specifically with the fundamental economic problem of quantity versus quality, but throughout there is an awareness of the need to set standards realistic enough to be attainable by many and not only by a selected few. Inevitably standards of English teaching vary in different countries. In Africa, the demand for English in primary schools often means that teachers with the barest minimum of education themselves must yet struggle with the extremely difficult conditions of overcrowded classrooms, shortage of equipment and inadequate administrative services. In other areas, such as the Middle East, a decision may have been taken to establish English in place of another foreign language in secondary schools: there is a new demand for teachers of English but no local supply of recruits for teacher-training who have themselves learned English at school. Traditional patterns of training may have to be abandoned or modified to meet the urgent needs of increased numbers of schools. Retraining as well as initial training may be necessary.

Teachers of English in highly developed areas—in Europe for example—are faced with two rather different problems. In countries where there has been a long tradition of teaching English with a literary or philological bias, there is now a demand for practical skills. At the same time new technical aids are becoming available—films, language laboratories, television and the like. Traditional preparation for teaching in some

countries has paid little attention to either development. We may still remark such oddities as the study of Dickens (in Eastern Europe) not only for his literary and linguistic merits, but as documentary and anachronistic evidence of the sins of capitalism; but commercial organisations in Holland, France and Italy also use English as an operational language in factory and office, and its use in air transport is as well known as its place in the armed forces of Western Europe.

In countries where English is the mother tongue, there are increasing needs to teach it as a second language to migrant workers, to immigrants and to visitors. During many past decades, the United States had a vast non-English-speaking population to absorb; the children of immigrants acquired their English side-by-side with English-speaking children; their parents sometimes attended special classes. More recently, specialised attention has, however, been given to particular groups of children (especially Spanish-speakers), and the Hyman Kaplan era may be over for adults.

Australia has vigorously organised English teaching for new Australians on shipboard, in evening classes and by correspondence courses. Similarly, Canada is now providing for large immigrant populations in cities such as Toronto.

Within Britain, recent immigration has drawn attention to problems of teaching English as a second language to children within the public education system. But for many years the need to teach English as a second language to adults has been noticeable, although it has received scant enough attention from Authority. Nowadays, the foreigner who comes to Britain especially to learn English is catered for by a variety of institutions, some good, some bad; but there is still a notable lack of provision for those overseas students in Britain for academic, professional or vocational courses, whose English is inadequate to enable them fully to benefit from their studies. Of about 71,000 overseas students in Britain in 1966, the great majority did not speak English as their mother tongue and many of these were undoubtedly handicapped by weakness in English.

The status of English in the educational systems of the world indicates the dimensions of the teacher-training problems no less than the increasing value attached to English by learners. Enough has been said to show that English teaching is inextricably bound up with general educational progress in many

countries, although in some of these it is only part of the whole language-teaching requirement. The national survival of some Asian and African countries may indeed depend on efficient language teaching in their schools during the next decade. India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Malaya, Indonesia and the Philippines, for example, have no indigenous languages which are the common mother tongues of more than a proportion of their inhabitants. They have adopted national languages which must be taught as second languages to millions of their populations. Not English, but Hindi, Urdu, Sinhala and Malay as second languages are expected to unite and stabilise growing national states. But these languages, even if learned by millions, are unlikely to attain wide currency beyond regional boundaries and none at present provides full access to modern science, technology or international affairs. Indeed, India, Pakistan and Malaya continue to use English for internal administration as well as for higher education and training. Over and above the need to teach national languages, the need for English must still be met. In South-East Asia there are probably no fewer than fifteen million children nominally being taught English in school, often beginning at the primary stage. Many learn very little.

In African states, greater linguistic diversity, as well as the lack of written resources in local languages, has meant that African national languages have scarcely been feasible. In Anglophone areas, only Tanzania has declared for an African national language—Swahili. Elsewhere, English fills the need both for an educational language and for a common tongue in politics, law, administration and the professions. Rightly or wrongly, it is widely believed, and local experience tends to confirm, that better ability in English in the secondary schools and universities can only be achieved by beginning English earlier in the primary schools. The longer the exposure to English the greater the facility achieved, it is claimed. But forcing the teaching of English ever lower into the primary classes means creating a corresponding demand for more teachers of English at a level where recruits to training are least likely to have an effective command of the language. For the pupils, increased exposure to less adequate teaching could do more harm than good.

In Francophone Africa, although French remains the general medium of education, demands for English teaching increase.

Nominally English is now taught in all secondary schools, while Cameroon is officially bilingual in English and French.

In countries of the Middle East and the Arab world where there has been recent economic growth, English has an enhanced importance—as in Libya, the U.A.R. and, latterly, Saudi Arabia. It is needed most for higher and technological education, but the foundations are expected to be laid in secondary schools.

In all countries where education is expanding, there is a shortage of good teachers, not only of teachers of English. An obvious educational danger is that more and more effort could be wasted on less and less efficient teaching of English at the cost of time needed by other basic subjects.

The provision of English teachers for developing areas may be a valuable aspect of international aid, coming not only from English-speaking countries. But in this vast area of requirements, direct teaching of English by expatriates—even on a comparatively large scale like the Peace Corps—can only touch a tiny proportion of learners. The best use of British, American or any other imported expertise in teaching English lies in helping to train the great numbers of locally born teachers who must staff the schools. Of these only a very small proportion can ever be sent abroad: most must be trained entirely in their own countries.

The following chapters have been specially written for this book by British experts out of their own experience in many parts of the world. Each takes as his theme a particular aspect of the preparation of teachers of which he has specialised knowledge or experience. Inevitably their fields overlap, and occasionally their views conflict, for the education and training of teachers cannot be compartmentalised. The authors were not asked to present a coordinated view or to concert their opinions, which are their own. They do not seek to present a 'party line' about how best to train teachers—nor perhaps should they, for an immense variety of approach is possible and probably desirable when dealing with human beings. Inevitably, too, a kind of historical perspective emerges, not merely because some of the authors have been active for many years, but because throughout the world teacher-training practice often lags behind immediate requirements. In a rapidly changing world,

educational planning often appears to be based more on a belated recognition of past deficiencies than on careful anticipation of future needs. It is slow work to change institutionalised educational objectives. It takes time to train teachers; it takes longer for their effects to be felt in terms of educated school leavers. But the writers in this book have all been engaged in forcing the pace of change, within the proper limits of their educational responsibilities.

Thus J. A. Bright's chapter spans a period of extremely rapid political development in Africa. Only ten or fifteen years ago, the Sudan was still being educated very largely by expatriates. The Bakt er Ruda where he worked was a remarkable institution. Only perhaps in a comparatively restricted educational system was it possible to attain such complete integration of teacher-training, syllabus development, examination control and school inspection. But Bakt er Ruda showed how much could be done by a very small but dedicated team working economically to high professional standards with minimal resources. This lesson could perhaps be considered today in places where the disparity in material standards between primary schools and higher education have become particularly wide.

Work at Makerere did not change Bright's essentially practical approach. His interest in theory and in the structure of English emerged from the observed needs of his students. As he says:

... the problem of relating theory to practice is central to the training of teachers. It cannot, in my view, be solved by presenting the theory and demonstrating the practice, but only by involving the student in the process of applying the theory to particular teaching situations. For students to watch good teaching, for them to be exposed to the infection of excellence, is necessary, but the effectiveness of a good demonstration is easy to exaggerate. Students see that it is easy and do not appreciate why. The art conceals the art, which is excellent for teaching pupils, but the art of teacher-training is not to conceal it but to reveal it.

Bright emphasises one notable characteristic of successful training: a concern with students' individual needs: 'We were easy to please and impossible to satisfy'—there could hardly be a better principle in teacher-training.

H. A. Cartledge tackles a completely different field, commonly neglected in spite of its importance: the preparation of

teachers of adults. Such teachers, unlike those who have to work in schools with children, are more concerned to acquire economical and efficient techniques of instruction than with general educational values. The adult learners considered fall into two main categories: those attending institutes in non-English-speaking countries overseas; those attending various institutions in Britain. The common characteristic to be expected of adult learners is high motivation or a realisation that they want English for defined and limited purposes. The all-too-common characteristic of their teachers is a good command of English but lack of suitable professional training. For such teachers, a full-length training course designed for school-teachers is often inappropriate because it contains much that is irrelevant and omits much which would be useful. However, a recognised teaching qualification would help to secure that the fee-paying student got value for money, as well as helping to stabilise the employment and career prospects of the teachers themselves. Recognition of their status implies reliable professional standards: the world of part-time language learning and teaching has some shady and ill-lit areas of private enterprise. Examinations for teachers like that recently instituted by the Royal Society of Arts in Britain may be of great benefit in establishing recognised standards.

Cartledge draws attention to unexploited opportunities for training teachers in overseas institutes for adult learners, where trainees could work their passage under adequate supervision. He is rightly concerned that the foreign student who comes to Britain to learn English should receive professionally creditable teaching.

While Cartledge is concerned with providing minimum qualifications, S. P. Corder deals with advanced studies for trained and experienced teachers, some of whom may themselves be teacher-trainers. He has an eye, too, on the educational administrator and the inspector, for it is an anomaly if the more highly qualified teacher then finds his attempts at reform of methods or materials frustrated by colleagues set in positions of authority over him. There is an obvious case for keeping them up to date, as well as for adding the weight of their experience to the resources of cooperative training and study.

The application of linguistics to language teaching causes no little argument today. But as Corder points out, there is nothing

G. E. Perren is concerned with one of the more intractable problems of teacher-training. In many parts of the world, English is being used as a medium of instruction for general, vocational or professional subjects. The pupils and students have a limited knowledge of the language, but their general studies depend on its effective use. Their teachers may either be native-speakers or have only a limited knowledge of English. What training can therefore be given in the *techniques* of using English (as a second language) as a medium of instruction? How best can the use of English in this way itself contribute to improving the English of the students? Perren also considers more specifically training which can be given to teachers of younger children where, for various reasons, it has been decided to adopt English as a lingua franca from the earliest stages, with detailed examples drawn from his own experience in East Africa. Recent development of second-language teaching in primary education in many countries is arousing increasing interest in work of this kind, since the younger the children the less can be the distinction between the formal teaching and informal use of language.

Referring mostly to recent Indian experience (although earlier work in West Africa also illuminates what he has to say), D. A. Smith faces squarely the problems which arise when large increases in school enrolment occur at the same time as the need for drastic reform in teaching methods. When existing teachers cannot cope and new ones cannot be rapidly produced, there must be retraining. If schools are not to be denuded of teachers, such training must be part-time, comparatively short, and closely related to immediate practical needs. In-service training must keep its feet securely on the ground and the selection of its content is all-important. Great skill is required in its organisation, for it must catch the enthusiasm and imagination of the teachers undergoing the course; mature teachers make critical students.

In many countries, only retraining or in-service schemes offer much hope of breaking established bad teaching traditions, which, as Smith points out, are often perpetuated by regular training colleges. A main problem is how best to use a limited number of experts to influence the largest possible number of teachers. He considers the merits of a variety of schemes from the small seminar or week-end 'workshop' to the mass

campaign, keeping in mind the financial and administrative problems arising.

Every contributor refers to the basic need to consolidate or improve the teachers' own English, but Peter Strevens examines in detail what is implied by 'English' in such a context. Perhaps the greatest danger in training teachers is irrelevance or wasting time on inessentials—certainly it is a common cause for criticism of existing courses. What he has to say refers very much to the standards of attainment which should be aimed at in schools overseas as well as to special work which can be done to improve the teachers' English. Strevens is critical of much existing training, but his strictures are followed by practical suggestions for improvement, including a valuable section on the use of the language laboratory.

How far can the experience and expert knowledge of a limited number of specialists influence the work of teachers in an immense variety of classrooms all over the world? How far in fact can the regression, pupil—teacher—teacher-trainer—trainer of teacher-trainers—academic expert—usefully be pursued? Whatever the answer may be to this question, it seems clear that, although principles, methods and experience can all be widely disseminated, the most vital task of training is to fire the enthusiasm of teachers and secure their direct involvement in their pupils' progress. This responsibility lies with the individual tutor or trainer of teachers whatever their subject. A good teacher of English must first be a good teacher.

May 1967

G. E. PERREN

THE TRAINING OF TEACHERS OF ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE IN AFRICA

by J. A. Bright

Between 1950 and 1965 I had experience of training intermediate and secondary school teachers in the Sudan at Bakht er Ruda and in East Africa at Makerere. Much that was done was common to all the different courses, but I have chosen to stress the organisational aspect of the Bakht er Ruda courses and the problem of theory and practice in one of the Makerere courses, and I have reserved content mainly for the graduate course. All three accounts are sketchy recollections of what now seems to me to have mattered.

The problem at Bakht er Ruda was, given some forty schools increasing at the rate of eight to ten a year, staffed largely by untrained cadets, to catch up with backlog in training, retrain existing teachers, reduce the number of periods and raise the standard of English. We had originally two, later three, people working on this proposition. Between us we had to devise the syllabus, recommend or write the text-books, inspect the schools, set the examinations, experiment proposed changes, train the teachers and carry everybody with us. Our advantage was that we held all the threads in our hands; where we failed we had no one to blame but ourselves. A clean sweep and new start was out of the question. It would have offended all the old stagers, who believed in what they were doing, and wasted our previous investment in training. We couldn't afford to increase the chaos. I knew what was needed but not what to do first or how fast we should eventually be able to go. I wanted to introduce an oral approach, replace West's *Oral Composition Course* by Palmer's *New Method Practice Books*, multiply the amount of reading done and get some decent composition work going. But I knew I mustn't frighten the horses.

I could not see how getting more supplementary readers into schools could do any harm, and the operation started by obtain-

ing financial approval for an increase of establishment to cover the books on the list we made. We then ordered from Stores and for independent schools from the Bookshop. When six months later the books arrived, we told headmasters, and a year later our inspecting teams were asking to see the boys' library.

Meanwhile, I started teaching a class using the *New Method Practice Books*. The lessons went splendidly, but the techniques of oral teaching were so unfamiliar to students and so obviously strenuous that it was plain I had to hand over to Sudanese in order to prove it could be done by non-native speakers. I found students on the course and pressed some volunteers into service. Before we found out how to make things easier for ourselves, we all came out of lessons dripping with sweat, but we were winning. Gradually we worked out, lectured, wrote up and established an *orthodox way of handling the material*.

Visitors criticised our rigidity and pointed out that we were *stifling the teachers' originality*. We accepted this as a point of view, but we knew it was wrong. We saw the teachers blossom as they mastered the art of driving down the tramlines. We went to schools where the cry had always been, 'Come and show us what to do', and students from our courses came rushing out saying, 'Come and see what my class can do.' We weren't stifling their originality but relieving them of the impossible burden of having to think out every move for themselves and leaving them free to exercise originality, secure in the knowledge that, if a new idea flopped, they could safely retreat to the old and tried routine. We had the evidence of our eyes that the way to get originality was to start by creating a tradition.

hook for every teacher, a yellow label for the untrained, a blue for the trained who had not yet had a refresher course in the new methods, and a red for our own students. In-service training courses enabled us to put red lines on blue labels, and if it didn't always convert the old stiffies at least it made them sympathetic to the new ideas and prepared to let our youngsters have their heads.

Another early experiment was with handwriting. Once again it didn't seem likely to do any harm and it was easy. The problem was to switch the pupils from writing Arabic right to left to the more rounded English script in the opposite direction. Writing patterns were obviously worth a trial. Equally obviously, with pupils aged eleven who already had pen control but very little English, we had to produce our own material. We therefore wrote a handwriting book. The results were gratifyingly spectacular. We moved on to tackle the oral approach in first year, which we were now pretty certain could be made to work. The problem was the reading which had been looked after by West's *Green Primer*.

We mounted a parallel-classes experiment. I taught one half and one of our best demonstration teachers taught the other. My class usually went quite well for twenty minutes and then decayed. They complained that they hadn't any books and couldn't revise. I didn't want to start them reading and therefore decided to use the handwriting material—just the patterns, of course. But naturally, when we had learnt to write 'n', 'h', 'p' and 'e', I couldn't resist seeing if they could read *hen* and *pen*, and as we added new letters we were able to write sentences and, almost by accident, we had broken the back of the reading problem. From there it was simply a question of making a junction to the *West Readers* at the appropriate place. We had always found *Reader I* childish, so we cut that out as well as the *Green Primer*, put in the *Oxford English Readers for Africa I* as a starting point, made a set of flash cards to go with it, wrote two little readers ourselves to take care of the rest of the vocabulary, joined it all together and wrote it up in a teachers' guide. Meanwhile it had sold itself through students on the course, visitors and refresher courses. Our stencilled material worked in the five schools and we spread it the following year, and turned our own attention to the fourth year. The second and third were looked after by the *West Readers* and the *New Method Practice Books*.

We had by this time aroused a certain amount of interest, and schools were anxious to be visited. We could not, however, cover them all every year. It occurred to us that we had some very good demonstration teachers who might be used. It would be good experience for them to go and visit a school. We designed a tactful letter to headmasters saying, 'We are sending you *X* who is one of our demonstration teachers. He is not an inspector. He will do what you tell him to do like any other member of staff. His speciality, however, is so and so, and you may perhaps wish to. . . ' I warned the young men going out to tread delicately. When they came back, I was horrified. They'd called staff meetings, given lectures, criticised lessons and done everything except sack the headmaster. I spent a good deal of time mentally drafting letters of apology in anticipation of the shoals of complaints that were bound to come. I got them, but only from the schools where they had not been sent who wanted to know why they were being neglected. We had hit on a way of training inspectors, education officers and our own successors.

Our own inspection tours provided feedback for the training courses. To each new one we made adaptations partly as a result of the changes we had ourselves caused in the schools—there was no point in going on proving that the oral approach was desirable once everybody had accepted it—and partly in response to our own failures in training—the kind of chorus work that developed was audible for five miles across the desert. Our old students were kept up to date by circulars.

One of our articles of faith proved justified. Our students were mostly people who had failed School Certificate and had a very shaky command of the basic structures of English. We had decided against going over everything they were going to teach in detail because we felt they would resent it and it would be time-consuming and a bore. We did what we could about speech in a course labelled 'Phonology' and about elementary grammar in a course I should now call 'Structural Linguistics'. We did a bit more with lesson preparation and during discussions after demonstrations, but we knew we had left their knowledge incomplete and that if they had to mark fourth-year compositions they wouldn't be able to do so. We believed that, provided they could start with first-year classes and work up the school with the class, they would in the process of teaching the patterns so ingrain them in themselves that they would teach themselves

even more effectively than the class. It will be remembered that the material for the drills they used was in the book. We were right. But it would never have worked but for magnificent cooperation in posting from the Ministry.

We did have a breakdown over revision and test construction where we had underestimated the difficulties. We got round it by providing tests to be used at appropriate points in the course and by showing how a mixed practice note-book could be constructed.

We deliberately used the examination as an influence. Every year we averaged the marks by papers and totals, and sent the list of schools round for all to see the ratings. This, too, was an act of faith. We should have looked pretty silly if we had failed to get our own schools and the five selected ones anywhere near the top of the list! The average mark in the different papers gave a clue to what sections schools were weak in, and we used to write to the headmasters suggesting, for example, where composition was weak, that they checked the quantity of written exercises done all the way up the school, especially the number of mixed practices. It was another way of showing an interest. Needless to say, we congratulated the top ten and took an early opportunity to inspect the bottom ones.

Marking the examination gave us an opportunity to meet old students and for them to talk about their classes to each other. It also forced them to consider the successes and failures of the methods being used.

There were three of us on the job full-time, excluding demonstration teachers. We had three main functions: syllabus work, teacher education, including refresher courses, and inspection. As a matter of policy we all did all three because it was convenient to be interchangeable and because only in this way could we acquire the experience we needed. In Bakht er Ruda there was always time-tabled work for at least two. The third could be spared for an inspection tour during term time. Our year also differed from that of other schools, giving us two inspection periods when the Institute was closed but the schools open, and we all went out. We visited all schools once every two years.

The only other technical visitors to schools were the Province Education Officers and their staff. We ran special high-level courses for them and also gave them copies of the Inspector's Handbook we had written for our own use.

The genius of V. L. Griffiths created Bakht er Ruda. It was unique in enabling a small number of people to exercise a very powerful influence on a large number of schools. It had built-in safety factors: the double experimentation and the fact that changes had to be 'sold' to teachers. It planned revolutions and created live education by forming and constantly reforming a tradition. It had, as was well said of its founder, its 'head in the clouds and feet in the mud'. It was the best place to work, and the worst place to live, in the world.

At Makerere College in Uganda during the years 1955-65 we ran three courses that included training in the teaching of English as a second language. The first, which was later taken over by other institutions, was the Two-Year Diploma Course; the second, which started as the first was finishing, was the B.Ed.; the third, which went on all the time, was the Post-graduate Diploma. Of the B.Ed., I shall say nothing; it was too new when I left.

The Two-Year Diploma Course was in many ways the most rewarding. Entrants came in rather depressed, having failed to qualify for degree courses at Preliminary, Intermediate or Higher School Certificate level, but most of them settled down to work well, found the courses interesting and became useful teachers in pre-secondary and secondary schools and training colleges. We tried to improve their speech, equip them with teaching techniques and help them to find interest in the study of language and pleasure in the exercise of their imagination in reading. We discouraged them from extensive note-taking and forced them to relate all theory to classroom practice. This was a response to the discovery that they could happily regurgitate modern theory and then go into a classroom and teach exactly as they had themselves been taught. As time went on, we tended to lecture background theory in smaller doses and to demand more immediate applications.

We had two lecture periods a week, one double seminar period and one demonstration lesson a week. The eventual pattern that developed was to lecture a little theory, for example, that the learning of a sentence pattern is quickest if examples are presented in context without grammatical explanation and used immediately. This was followed by a demand for an example of a pattern, say, 'John is throwing stones into the river'. The

actual example raised the question of what the pattern consisted of. What substitutions were legitimate *at the level we were thinking of*? Could we have a pronoun for the noun? Could we change the tense? Must the adverbial be on the pattern *preposition + nominal*? All this reminded us that we had to consider the level of the class, what pupils were ready to accept as grammatically identical though lexically different items.

The next question was what contexts we could use. Could we use the classroom? 'Put' and 'take' seemed easy. Were there any snags? 'Put into' but 'take out of'. Would this cause trouble in the teaching? Should we draw pictures instead? Fine, come and draw some. How long did it take? And we were on to prepared blackboards.

We might break off at this point and pick a similar problem up again in the seminar period where we normally tackled a practical problem of some kind. Each of four groups was required to take the course-books in use in the pre-secondary schools and plan twenty minutes teaching, during which a new sentence pattern was to be presented orally, practised orally and finally used by individual members of the class.

This involved reapplying the theory to new situations suited to a new pattern and also raised questions such as what difficulties were likely to arise, how they could be anticipated and how the pattern should be practised. For example, in one very early lesson in our course-book, we were supposed to teach and practise substitutions on

'I'm pointing to a pot/box/etc.'

'I'm touching the pot/box/etc.'

There were numerous phonetic difficulties which the students knew about because of sounds that did not exist in African languages. African students had an advantage over English-speaking ones at this point. They had in their heads the material for contrastive analysis and only had to learn to use their knowledge.

There were also two completely unnecessary grammatical difficulties, the equation of *pointing to* and *touching*, which naturally led to

'I'm touching to a pot',

and the switch from *a* to *the* demanded by the second mention situation. This, however, was not what was being taught. The

new thing was the Present Progressive Tense form. The group dealing with this worked out some of the problems for themselves and could be led to see the others. The important thing was not that they should succeed in solving the particular problem set but that they should learn how to think about lesson preparation and be prepared to make further changes when lessons did not work out as expected.

The group generally decided to use examples strictly parallel to 'I'm touching a pot'. They generally thought that three or four verbs would be enough and chose examples such as

touching, holding, opening, shutting.

At this point they often sat back and reckoned they had done the job. Sometimes we left them to hit the next problem the hard way. If we did, one of two things happened: we either spent the lesson holding doors and opening and shutting pots without lids, or we opened a mouth, or a number of other things with names that unexpectedly had to be taught and distracted the class from the real new material. Generally we were kind-hearted—it came more naturally to us—and we demanded that the vocabulary available for objects should be set out.

This used at least half our seminar time. We then switched to the techniques of presentation and practice. Here we jumped into the deep end. A volunteer was coerced into coming and doing it with the rest of the group doubling as pupils and critics. Anything could happen. It was useful to switch on the tape-recorder at this point in order to know what did happen and thus to 'objectify' the guinea-pig. A recording made it easier for everybody, including the person who made it, to think about what happened and discuss it without personal involvement. This interesting fact, which applies also in speech work, is very useful in teacher-training.

When a student faced the class we had some very curious introductions. One started, 'Today we are going to learn about the Present Progressive Tense'. Challenged, he said that he had used English because he did not know the Luganda for *Present Progressive Tense*. Anyway, the children wouldn't understand it in Luganda—long pause—broad smile—of course they didn't understand it in English either! We eventually concluded that it was no good telling children things they did not understand, however important the things might be. We later simplified

this to 'It's no good telling children'. We sometimes decided that, given a teacher with a knowledge of the children's language, there would be no positive harm in saying in that language, 'Today we are going to learn how to say what we are doing while we are still doing it'.

Another common opening was 'I'm holding a chalk'. This was often said either in a context where the children would infer that it meant 'I'm taking a piece of chalk' or in a context where, because they expected the teacher to be equipped with a piece of chalk as normal practice, they had no idea what he meant. In this way we gradually informed the abstraction 'context of situation' with practical significance.

Eventually, not in one seminar period, we contrived to remove extraneous and explanatory matter and get the pattern presented for imitation all by itself. We left dealing with failures in hearing or reproduction until the demonstration lesson. The next step was to examine who was getting the practice. For this purpose a recording device was useful. All symbols represented sentences. *T* = said by teacher; *P* = said by pupil (in this case represented by a student). *X* represented a sentence not in the pattern being taught. We ran the tape through, stopping at the end of every minute and making a bar, getting a pattern like this:

TTTTTTTTT|TXP|XPTPX|XP.

We observed that in the first four minutes the teacher said eleven correct sentences and three pupils one each. *PTP* was the same pupil being corrected. We observed, furthermore, that *X*s appeared to occupy a lot of time. They were requests to pupils to come out to the front of the class and 'say and do'.

We brooded on this problem and eventually concluded that time spent shuttling back and forth by pupils was wasted, and we realised that when we had prepared our lesson we omitted to work out where we were going to place the objects and the pupils to reduce, obviate or expedite movement about the classroom. We discussed hollow squares and bringing pupils out in groups at a time, or training them to keep the pot boiling by moving out to the front on the teacher's signal while the ones already there are speaking, and moving back to their places as soon as they have said their piece. We encouraged the teacher to use his hands to organise the movements he wanted

while his ears and eyes were occupied with the performers. 'Pupil practice' began to mean something.

We then tried the same thing with real pupils and discovered to our horror that they made mistakes. They did not even hear what we said. We produced a sentence half-a-dozen times and they went on getting it wrong. *I'm shutting the box* was reproduced as *Arm sharty zah bawkiss*, with all syllables equally stressed. Our first reaction to the inability to hear was to pick out something and say it louder. We got little dialogues:

T—I'm shutting the box

P—Arm sharty zah bawkiss

T—I'm SHUTTING the box

P—Arm SHARTY zah bawkiss

T—I'm SHUTTING the box

P—Arm SHARTY zah bawkiss

Things could not go on like that, though alas in the schools they often did. In discussion after the lesson we recalled the phonology we used in our speech training and we patiently picked out the difficulties and decided which we must cope with in this lesson, which we could eliminate or postpone and how we were going to tackle them. We decided perhaps that we could cope with the stress problem and the final *-ing* on the verb.

We reconsidered our presentation. How could we have helped the pupils to notice the stress? We discussed the visual possibilities of underlining, writing in capitals, or putting boxes round the emphatic syllables. Somebody sooner or later realised generally from our poker-faced expressions, that the requirement of oral presentation had been overlooked. We moved on to the possibilities of exaggeration; slow starts, tapping with fingers or pencils, clapping or drumming. Once more we went back and refined our presentation. *We on the staff knew*, but at this stage the students were mercifully spared the knowledge that this was going to happen again and again for the rest of the course, and the rest of their lives if they were going to be real teachers.

What precise improvements we decided on mattered less than the fact that we had found a problem, analysed it, devised a plan of attack and thought up a technique or two to implement it. The clap, tap or drum technique generally worked well for the stressed syllables, and we found the class willing

enough to join in the rhythmic acting and speaking. We got happily to

I'm SHARTY a BAWKISS

which, improbable as it looks, did make what the pupils said sound much more like English. But we still needed to consider the *-ing*. If we tried to get them to hear that by stressing it—I'm SHUTTING a box—we should ruin the stress pattern only just established. We thought again and decided to lengthen without stressing.

Another question that naturally arose was how many times the teacher should say his piece before expecting the class to be able to repeat it. There was a search for a magic number and eventually we decided that the amount of repetition depended on length and difficulty of the sentence and the stage of the class. We must go on until the acoustic image had been formed and this we could see if we taught properly and watched the pupils. Lips would begin to move; an eagerness to start speaking would become apparent, and if the teacher deliberately hesitated in his speech the class would take over.

Then we got the student who shot the sentences at the class in identical staccato bursts of machine-gun fire. So we countered with varieties of tone, loudness and speed. This came in very useful when we were producing sentences for choral repetition. Instead of the usual monotonous chant which disturbed every other class in the school, we devised variants, using our hands to get parts of the class to respond, and we did a fair amount of choral work in a whisper which demanded vigorous movements of the vocal organs that Bantu-speaking students were otherwise very unwilling to attempt.

Another technique we introduced at this point was christened by its inventor, Peter Wingard, 1-2-3 drill. The teacher said the sentence to be imitated once, the class chorused twice and three selected individuals each said it once. Done rhythmically this went fast, held attention and was particularly effective for work in stress and intonation. If a pupil got a sentence wrong we did not stop and correct. Instead the teacher threw in an extra correct model to cancel the wrong one, went on to another pupil and returned to the one who made the mistake later. This avoided interrupting the flow of the work and embarrassing the incompetent performer into even worse blunders.

We might then return to some more theory. Sometimes we took up Palmer's four good learning habits and related them to what we had been doing. They are:

- (i) To observe correctly what is said or written. (We had not yet considered writing, but we had done something to help the children to observe correctly.)
- (ii) To imitate correctly what is heard or read. (Reading came later but we had again done something to encourage frequent imitation without tedium.)
- (iii) To associate the words with what they mean. (So far we had done this entirely by using situations in the classroom.)
- (iv) To form sentences on the analogy of sentences already learnt. (This was something new. We had left undone one thing at least that we ought to have done.)

We discussed the question of forming sentences on the analogy of those already learnt. It was clearly essential for composition—in fact it *was* composition. How soon could we do it? We were beginning to distrust magic numbers and automatic recipes. Instead we looked for the minimal conditions. What constituted, for our purposes, an original sentence on the analogy of the ones we had been using? We decided it was one that was formed in the mind of a pupil without his having heard it before. How could we make it form? Easy: we made an appropriate change in the situation we were using, and the change would stimulate the language mechanisms to operate within the minds of the pupils. The slower members were beginning to reach for their note-books. The ones who had realised that we did not often wrap ourselves up in jargon like this were waiting for the rabbit to pop out of the hat. At this point we sometimes elected to show off. We wrote a sentence on a piece of paper, for example,

‘The man who is climbing the tree has a hat on his head.’

We gave it, folded up, to a member of the class and announced that we were going to make that sentence form in the mind of every student. We then drew five crude pictures, saying as we did so:

1. This man is standing up. He has a pipe in his mouth.
2. This man is sitting down. He has a book in his hands.
3. This man is watching a bird. He has a camera round his neck.

4. This man is looking at the sky. He has an umbrella in his hands.
5. (We drew, silently, a man climbing a tree. We asked what he was doing. We ostentatiously drew a hat on his head.)

We then said, pointing to the pictures in turn:

The man who is standing up has a pipe in his mouth.

The man who is sitting down has a book in his hands.

The man who is watching a bird has a camera round his neck.

The man who is looking at the sky has an umbrella in his hands.

To picture 5 we pointed silently. We then asked for the sentence everybody thought of and solemnly checked that it was the one we set out to force.

Then we thought of ways of forcing nice, easy bits of grammar, such as sentences on the pattern:

under
There's a something in the whatsit.
on

Note-books were put away. They did not have to learn it by heart after all.

We had at last come to the point from which some people may think we ought to have started, and we could set out the pattern of a piece of oral work designed to introduce a new structure. It went as follows:

THE PRESENTATION OF A NEW SENTENCE PATTERN

(i) Setting the scene. The realia are produced, the pictures displayed or drawn or the pupils arranged. Later this may consist of reading a passage. It creates situations so that the pupils will 'associate the words with their meaning'.

(ii) Presenting the pattern. The teacher does most of the talking while the pupils observe what is said, begin to say it in their minds and gradually fix the image.

(iii) Chorus work. Often 1-2-3 drill. This will decrease as

phonological difficulties are surmounted and vanish altogether eventually.

(iv) *Arranging for pupil practice.* This is the rearrangement of pupils and/or objects for rapid individual doing and saying.

(v) *Pupil practice.* Quick-fire sentence after sentence with pupils flowing in and out of the production line.

(vi) *Sentences on the pattern of those already learnt.* This involves rearranging objects, or using new or slightly different pictures. It is slower, because the sentences must form in all the pupils' minds, and exciting because it tests the success of the learning.

I have set out this kind of work in specific and tedious detail because the problem of relating theory to practice is central to the training of teachers. It cannot, in my view, be solved by presenting the theory and demonstrating the practice but only by involving the student in the process of applying the theory to particular teaching situations. For students to watch good teaching, for them to be exposed to the infection of excellence, is necessary, but the effectiveness of a good demonstration is easy to exaggerate. Students see that it is easy and do not appreciate why. The art conceals the art, which is excellent for teaching pupils, but the art of teacher-training is not to conceal it but to reveal it.

It is apparent that this kind of shuttling between theory and practice is only possible where English is being learnt as a second language and facilities for the observation of lessons exist. It is equally clear that the less the previous education of the teacher, the greater the need for him to integrate theory and practice and the more help he needs in doing so. Of primary teachers in East Africa it is often said that they teach best in their first year out of training college and then get less competent as they forget what they have been taught to do. It is also said that they cannot understand the theory. I believe that they can understand the theory provided it is presented in small doses in lecture-discussions without jargon and provided they are continually forced into making immediate applications and that, even though the slower pace this demands means that less ground can be covered, the end-product is a better teacher five years later and one who contains within himself the possibilities of growth, response to differing needs and continually improving efficiency.

It is very difficult to integrate theory in England with practice in Africa. Even good African graduates find it hard. Non-graduates come to England in great numbers and return to training colleges in Africa, but their students very seldom benefit. The 'been-to' either dishes out the theory he got down in his notebooks in the U.K., which is at a far higher level of abstraction than his students can absorb, or, and this is the less dangerous choice, he reverts to doing what he did before he went. Students who come to England broaden their experience and learn a good deal of English, but they very seldom come back with what they went to get unless they sit under one of the few methodologists with African experience.

This difficulty is not insuperable. The B.B.C. and the British Council have already made some films showing teachers being trained. They use an obviously phoney class and the techniques demonstrated are rather elementary, but the films are useful and show what could be done, if some foundation felt like putting up the money, to bring the reality of the overseas classrooms into British training institutions.

The rest of our efforts with the Two-Year Diploma Course must now be summarised briefly, before we go on to the Post-graduate Diploma. I shall not attempt to follow any chronological order of presentation.

We expanded sentence-pattern presentation to include a large number of devices for promoting what Palmer called¹ conventional conversation, introducing, for example, imperative drills, single question and answer drills, sequential series, verb drills, action chains, drills involving additions, expansions and transformations, and we practised selecting the kind of drill best suited to teaching the grammatical mechanism we wanted to show the pupils how to use.

While we were still dealing with these rigidly controlled (some would say, mechanical) drills, we posed the question, 'When can we be sure that a pupil has mastered an item of language?' We concluded eventually that we could only be sure of this when he used it unprompted except by response to a situation. Applying the psychology of learning and memory, we traced the history of a pupil's growing command of an item from first hearing, through ability to imitate a model immediately,

¹ H. E. Palmer, *The Oral Method of Teaching Languages* (1921, reprinted 1943).

ability to imitate with substitutions in the pattern, ability to produce similar sentences, ability to recall at increasing intervals, and on to secure command when required. This led to the addition to our lesson pattern of a revision section and a free-use section. We learned how to use 'setting the scene' for revision of previously learnt patterns, and how to split up drills into mixed practices in a mixed practice note-book.

The excursion into psychology reminded us that we had not yet thought very seriously about the wishes and needs of our customer, the child. We spent time considering how to combine business with pleasure in classroom games—imperative drill, for example, turns into 'Mukasa says, "Put your hand on your head"'. As in the similar game in England no action was taken unless Mukasa said so. The pupils gave the commands. We tipped sequential series upside-down and played guessing games. An object was concealed. It had to be identified in five questions or the answer was announced.

Is it a stone?	No, it isn't.
Is it a leaf?	Yes, it is,

or at the end of five questions:

No, it isn't. It's a pencil.

In order to practise prepositions five pupils went out of the room and a match was hidden. They had to find it in five questions.

We considered spans of attention, changes of activity and so on, and thought about the kind of satisfactions we could offer in terms of immediate success. We discovered why 'similar sentences' was such a popular item. The pupil proved to himself by a creative effort of his own that he had learnt successfully.

While all this had been going on, the students had been working at improving their own speech and reading abilities. In an attempt to measure the effect of the speech work, one year we recorded students reading a passage containing a number of itemised phoneme, stress and intonation problems. It was the text of a Cambridge Overseas School Certificate Oral Examination, which we had set. We then exposed the students to six lectures on English phonology with two half-hour practice periods twice a week for twelve weeks, and then recorded them reading the same passage. We then played back the two recordings of each student, phrase by phrase, putting

on to a new tape next to each other for comparison the pre-course reading and the post-course one. It was a salutary experience and we emerged from the post-mortem with the not very consoling summary that at least nobody had got any worse.

In sober sadness, we did find worthwhile improvements in stress and intonation but practically none in pronunciation on which we had spent most time. All the work we had put into distinguishing minimal pairs had no result at all. A very curious feature of the recording was that very nearly all hesitations, trips, slips of the tongue and apparently accidental misreadings were repeated identically in the second reading three months later. It is only right to add that neither of us had had any phonetic training.

If the two-year course had continued we might have succeeded in getting a post for a phonetician approved. In that case we had an ambitious plan for attacking the generally low level of spoken English in East Africa. *En passant*, 'low level' refers to comprehensibility, not divergence from R.P. We had already got an oral examination in School Certificate, and we were working on the introduction of material embodying the significant features of English sounds and intonation and stress in primary school material. We wanted a phonetician to work out syllabuses for secondary schools and training colleges, run in-service courses for existing teachers and plan an attack from all directions, as well as applying his expertise to the improvement of our own students. Some of these things happened when a specialist was sent to Uganda by the British Council and when the English Department started using a language laboratory to improve speech in English before students reached us.

Whether we should have retained the drills on phonemic discrimination, I am not sure. We were beginning to feel that if we could fit a course on speech together with one on drama we should kill more birds with one stone. It was not tried in my time, but it ought to have been.

We should have retained the six lectures on phonetic theory because of the need to refer to them in planning oral presentation. As things were, the students were able to devise remedial exercises for discriminatory failures and to make up stress and intonation drills by adopting the techniques they had been exposed to and simplifying the vocabulary down to class level.

Something similar happened with the reading. In order to improve the students' own reading speed, we introduced them to fixations, eye-spans, sweeps, regressions and so on. We had them watching each other read with the aid of small mirrors, counting fixations, watching for head and tongue movements and so on. When we came to consider teaching children to read, we had a pool of theory from which to draw a drop of wisdom at a time and examine its applications as we did with the oral work. We reinvented flashcards, or rather flashboards, which, being long baby blackboards, can be used over and over again every year. We added reading to our basic lesson plan; at first at the end, but gradually came to see that, for example, we could use it for imperative drill and combine it with action chains, getting patterns like

Teacher flashes board:

Draw a tree on the blackboard

Pupil 1 says: What's Mukasa going to do?

Pupil 2 replies: He's going to draw a tree.

Pupil 3 says: Where's he going to draw it?

Pupil 4 replies: On the blackboard.

Meanwhile the actor has moved to the board.

Pupil 5 says: What's he doing?

Pupil 6 replies: He's drawing a tree.

Pupil 7 says: Where is he drawing it?

Pupil 8 replies: On the blackboard.

The actor has now finished.

Pupil 9 says: What has he done?

Pupil 10 replies: He's drawn a tree.

Pupil 11 says: Where has he drawn it?

Pupil 12 replies: On the blackboard.

Teacher flashes board:

Put a stone on a piece of paper

The whole cycle starts again.

Later on, of course, we found we could combine reading with writing. In fact we used flashboards for copying much more often than the blackboard. In this way we lengthened the time the visual image had to be retained, and prevented piecemeal

five governments and three universities. It has, unfortunately, split up, the American contribution being now through the Peace Corps. The British contribution continues through the Ministry of Overseas Development. This is a great loss. We learnt a lot from daily working with American staff and there may even have been some flow of ideas in the opposite direction.

The course was so arranged that students had a week in a school a fortnight after their arrival and spent their third term in a school on teaching practice. The English class was large—thirty to fifty. Seminars had to be handled by division into groups. Separate time-tabling was impossible.

We took as our starting point the pupil on entry to the secondary school. Later in the course, students took part in marking the entrance examination, which gave somewhat more precision to their ideas about this. We posed and attempted to answer the questions of what he knows and what he can do and from there reached considerations of vocabulary. We approached this at various times historically by considering various word-lists and why they were made, academically via the question 'what is a word?', linguistically via lexis and lexical items, anecdotally via 'a funny thing happened to me on teaching practice last year', and finally by way of 'giky martables' as set out below.

All routes involved:

- (i) Considering how the native learner acquires his vocabulary, or vocabularies, when we consider registers.
- (ii) Distinguishing between receptive and productive use.
- (iii) Relating meaning to context.
- (iv) Refining on the idea of 'knowing' a word.
- (v) Distinguishing lexical from grammatical meaning.
- (vi) Noting that many words are structured.
- (vii) Noting that there are such things as lexical sets and fairly systematic relationships between vocabulary items, e.g. marked and unmarked forms.
- (viii) Examining the criteria used in the selection of West's *General Service List*.
- (ix) Noting that graphic symbols appear in the list because they are common. We applauded the simplicity of teaching common words before rare ones, but noted with dismay that they are common because they occur in so many different contexts with so many different meanings. We refined our ideas about a learning item, noted that all genuine uses are individual,

and considered how the mind leaps to the meaning, and how large a leap is possible

(x) Examining *A General Service List* and Thorndike and Lorge's *A Teacher's Word Book of 30,000 Words* with some care and with practical applications to texts and lesson preparation.

(xi) Considering the use of dictionaries.

(xii) Noting that vocabulary increase may take place through learning new items, new contexts for old ones or new arrangements of known morphemes.

(xiii) Observing that the African pupil has a passion for long and learned words and wondering if this is due to nature or nurture.

(xiv) Becoming aware of the dangers of verbalism and of its relationship to the demand for notes to copy.

(xv) Noting that in one sense the vocabulary of a subject such as geography is the subject.

(xvi) Recoiling in horror from the teaching of words out of context and other common heretical practices such as going into derivations, not going into derivations, attempting to teach 10,000 new words, not attempting to teach them, and so on.

But before we become utterly frivolous it is time to return to the serious matter of giky martables. The students were presented with the following handout:

Giky Martables

It must be admitted, however, that there is an occasional pumtumfence of a diseased condition in wild animals, and we wish to call attention to a remarkable case which seems like a giky martable. Let us return to the retites. In the huge societies of some of them there are guests or pets, which are not merely briscerated but fed and yented, the spintowrow being, in most cases, a talabale or spiskant exboration—a sunury to the hosts. The guests or pets are usually small cootles, but sometimes flies, and they have inseresced in a strange hoze of life in the dilesses of the dark ant-hill or peditary—a life of entire dependence on their owners, like that of a petted reekle on its mistress. Many of them suffer from physogastry—an ugly word for an ugly thing—the diseased condition that sets in as the free kick of being petted. In some cases the guest undergoes a perry change. The stoperior body or hemodab becomes tripid in an ugly way and may be prozuberated upwards and forwards over the front part of the body, whose size is often bleruced. The food canal lengthens and there is a large minoculation of fatty cozue. The

wings fall off. The animals become more or less blind. In short, the animal becomes genederate and scheformed. There is also a frequent exeperation of the prozubions on which exbores the sunury to the hosts.

This stirring piece of prose was constructed by substituting a nonsense word for every word in a biology text-book that was outside the *General Service List*. It was used to put the student in the place of the first-year pupil and to demonstrate that little understanding was possible with new words at this density. Nevertheless behaviour that sounded like understanding could still take place. Question and answer could go briskly back and forth.

What does this remarkable case seem like?

A giky martable.

What happens to the guests or pets?

They are briscerated, fed and yented.

The pupils, moreover, would be forced to demand notes on giky martables written on the blackboard, and would copy these meaningless symbols into their note-books and commit them to memory.

An even more terrifying thought was that they could, would and did perform the same operation with real words which the teacher understood but they did not.

From this starting point we fought our way through a hail of fairly light-hearted examples (*jam* means one thing collocated with *traffic*, another collocated with *tart*, and yet a third as the collective noun in a *jam of tarts*), towards what we presented as our orthodoxy, leaving the student free, of course, to accept it or reject it. All we insisted on was that, if he had been present at all, he should think about it.

Here is what we advocated:

(i) In order that pupils might acquire and practise reading skills without interference from too many vocabulary difficulties it was necessary to grade the texts used in and out of class. For East Africa we recommended

First Year	1,500 words to 2,000 words
Second Year	2,000-plus words but still simplified
Third Year	Unsimplified
Fourth Year	S.C. set texts plus continued unsimplified.

It was the reading that provided the exposure to words in live contexts, and the opportunity for natural vocabulary growth of the non-technical kind.

(ii) We should refrain from forcing or even encouraging pupils to make immediate, productive use of 'new words'. They would, if they read a lot, pick up their own receptive vocabulary and as familiarity increased items that were required actively would pass naturally into use in speech and writing.

(iii) We did not ask pupils to use words in sentences, remembering George Perren's dictum: 'Make a sentence means make a mistake.' The language mechanisms of the mind did not normally work this way round. The need for the word should be felt first.

(iv) We exercised pupils in the use of dictionaries.

(v) Having armed ourselves with Eric Partridge's *Origins* and Roget's *Thesaurus* we occasionally or incidentally did short spells of vocabulary work aimed at interesting the pupils in the structure and relationships (historical and semantic) of words, but not at teaching the meaning of any particular words.

(vi) We deliberately fostered the skill of inference from the context.

(vii) In intensive reading in the process of single-minded attention to meaning we became aware of the nuances words convey and of their influence on each other.

From vocabulary it was now natural to turn to reading, the heart of which is pleasure in individual imaginative response to black marks on paper. It is a private event. We emphasised the importance of enjoyment and concluded that our pupils were going to be forced to read for pleasure whether they liked it or not.

We did not waste our time preaching the value of literature to graduates. We assumed it, and spent some time getting them to see that first-year classes could not start immediately on *Paradise Lost*. We admitted, indeed we took pains to expose, the 'inferiority' of simplified classics to the originals, and we begged the students to write literary masterpieces at the appropriate level. We patiently forced students to imagine pupils reading a difficult text and forced to rely on a dictionary or teacher's explanations and concluded that this was not individual response or increasing skill, merely drudgery. We worked out a philosophy about reading aloud by pupils and teachers, and we

(ii) That the writer's attention must be concentrated on what he wants to convey. If it is an imaginary scene, he must get it into sharp focus. His efforts should not be devoted to working-in 'good' words.

(iii) Class and group preparation may be useful.

(iv) The writer must know who he is writing for.

(v) He must also have, or work out, some idea how to set about the job. I used to be content to let my pupils study how a writer had arranged a description, etc., and then get them to imitate his technique on a different subject. I have, however, come to believe that perhaps all the techniques have not yet been devised and that in any case there is value in making pupils think them out for themselves. It undermines the idea of there being only one right answer.

(vi) That properly organised preparation will bring the pupil to the drafting point brimming over with ideas and eager to get them on to paper.

(vii) That composition is not a test. Other pupils are there, not to be competed against but to help. A riot is not conducive to good, clear writing, but nor is a morgue.

(viii) That writers want to be read—they value the esteem of their peers, and this is more encouraging than the remote and critical attention of an alien deity with a red pencil. What is written should be 'published'.

(ix) That the most useful teaching can be done after a draft has been completed, when pupils individually or in groups develop critical awareness. Will the words do the job? Could anything be done to improve their effectiveness? Could they be made fewer or simpler to advantage? Is the effect spoiled by superficial errors?

(x) That too many errors are a result of attempting continuous writing at the wrong level of difficulty. The same subject may be made very easy or very difficult by more or less guidance and preparation.

(xi) That a very wide variety of kinds of writing should be practised and the time spent on the elegant essay, with its nice derangement of epitaphs, cut down or out.

(xii) That each step should add something to the experience of the class through their grappling with a 'study point' of manageable proportions. 'The right use of words' demands more than one lesson or lifetime, but 'adding colour' can be

handled in a period. The course should be genuinely progressive, broadening down from study point to study point.

(xiii) That composition, summarising, reading, note-taking and literary skills should not be kept in separate boxes. Research essays bring them all into use.

(xiv) That the conventional wisdom of the English and American school-teacher should be re-examined in the second language context to determine, for example, how deadly are the sins of splitting an infinitive, dangling a participle or failing to put a possessive with a gerund; and how lively are the virtues of preferring the active to the passive, the short to the long, the Anglo-Saxon to the Latin, and so on.

(xv) That proof-reading is an acquired skill. The pupil needs to practise it unhindered by the teacher's ink. The correction of errors is the business of the pupil.

The problem of what to do about mistakes took us straight to grammar. We found this section difficult because we were not very sure in our own minds exactly what ought to be done, and because we had a range of students from those with no conscious knowledge of grammar at all, through those with smatterings of this and that, and those from Catholic and Asian schools with a very sound grounding of traditional Nesfield or Wren, to those who had been exposed to various of the new grammars just beginning to be taught in universities in Britain and America.

For some years my practice was to start by demolishing the conventional definitions. What is a noun? It's the name of a person, place or thing. What about *arrival*, *departure*, etc.? What is a sentence? It's a complete thought. What about the following?

He's	Not a sentence
He's sitting	Disagreement
He's sitting in	More disagreement
He's sitting in the	No
He's sitting in the garden	Yes
He's sitting in the garden reading	Yes
He's sitting in the garden reading a	No.

What about this?

Pifflesnitches contrangle urgulations.

This negative approach was great fun for me, but left the students terrified of making any statement about language lest it prove to be demonstrably untrue.

When I had decided, after some hesitation, that perhaps this was a bad thing, I switched to telling students how I believe language works, and we spent some time examining patterns of groups, clauses and sentences and considering transformations and substitutable items, and so on. This was also very entertaining for me but the better students realised that there were problems about relating grammar at this level of abstraction to the improvement of reading and writing which we agreed was its justification, and the weaker ones collected our hand-outs zealously with the obvious intention of passing this straight on to pupils as the very latest thing in the grammar lark.

We decided to start from the errors in actual pupils' scripts. What were we going to do about the pupil who wrote

'My father made us both to go and work in the garden'?

We learned to think about the possible causes of error. African vernaculars have only one form for the infinitive. In English most verbs follow the pattern

'he persuaded us to go'.

We considered transformations—we were made to—and noted that we cannot say 'Don't use *to* after *make*'. We considered substitutions and arrived at the list *make, let, see, hear, feel, watch, smell, help* and perhaps *find* in the restricted context

'You won't find it work properly'.

We went on to decide what kind of practice, written and oral, would establish a new correct habit and prevent errors with this set of verbs in future. We made up written exercises and test items.

When we had done this with a sufficient number of errors, the need for a systematic description of the language for the use of the teacher became clear. This was the point at which we attempted to provide it, finishing by discussing deliberately inconclusively whether pupils should be given a systematic explanation or not.

My own belief, embodied in *Patterns and Skills in English*,¹ is that on balance, at least in the East African context, they should be taught language systematically and we demonstrated that this could be done in an interesting and enjoyable way. That

¹ J. A. Bright, *Patterns and Skills in English*, Books 1-4 (Nairobi, 1967).

it was also profitable is not certain, and my own faith is hedged about with conditions and the fear of creating a grammar for grammar's sake, an up-to-date Nesfield on structural linguistic lines.

It cannot be wrong to examine genuine uses of language to see how they work. We can neither talk nor think about them without a terminology, but it is dreadfully easy to think that teaching of the terminology is useful and revert to a futility as sterile as a lesson devoted to distinguishing between *this* used as a demonstrative adjective (watch the noun modify, boys) and demonstrative pronoun.

Our pupils were in late adolescence, highly intelligent and, as far as language was concerned, already fairly sophisticated. They demanded explanations. But how far did an explanation contribute to *increasing skill in use*? If you serve straight down the line or outside the corner, the striker has to make two steps and reach for the ball. Now try it! It's easy in tennis. No one can mistake the theoretical knowledge for the ability to put the ball in tiresome places and no umpire awards games for knowledge of theory. Teachers of language find the distinction between knowledge and skill more difficult to apply. It's so easy to teach knowledge and so demanding in terms of thought, preparation, ingenuity and self-effacement to train skill.

And the training of skill in the two-way traffic between language and imagination is the language-teacher's job.

TRAINING TEACHERS OF ADULTS

by H. A. Cartledge

This chapter is concerned with the problems of training teachers of English to adult foreign students. It is in two parts. The first part considers the needs of students who come to Britain from abroad for periods not usually exceeding one year to improve their knowledge of English, and who will return to their own countries when they have finished their course. The second part deals with classes of a similar kind to those in Britain, and given to the same type of students, but in their own countries.

The London County Council (in the area now covered by the Greater London Council) has organised these classes since before the 1914 War, and one private school of English in London, still in existence, was founded in 1912. But large-scale demand for English tuition in Britain began after the Second World War, and has continued with no diminution ever since. Some figures for examination candidates will give an idea of the extent of this demand. In 1964, a typical year, there were over 20,000 candidates for the examinations in English of the Cambridge University Local Examinations Syndicate at Home centres, and 7,800 for those of the Royal Society of Arts. These are the principal but not the only examining bodies; and it is impossible to say how many students followed courses in Britain without taking an examination; but 30,000 would be a conservative estimate of the total number of students who attended classes of some sort in that country during the academic year. If the numbers of those attending short summer courses are added, the figure is something like 100,000.

Who are these students? They come mainly from Europe and the Middle East, though students from all over the world are to be found amongst them, especially in London. Their age-range is mainly 18-25, and the greater proportion of them are women.

Their intellectual and cultural background varies widely, as do their motives for coming to study English in Britain; but whatever their background, native language, aims and needs, and wherever they go to study, they are likely to get the same

kind of course. They are concentrated largely in London and on the south coast of England, although classes are to be found in towns all over the country. Classes are given both in L.E.A. Colleges of Further Education and in independent, privately owned institutions. Many of the latter depend entirely on foreign students of English for their livelihood.

Who teaches them? There is no quick answer to this question. Whatever the academic qualifications of the teachers, they rarely include formal training in teaching English as a foreign language. Yet the task is one which calls for special talents and training. The classes are multi-lingual, so that the teacher must normally teach entirely in English, the only means of communication between him and his students. The possibility of providing a course based on systematic linguistic comparisons as, for example, outlined in *Linguistics Across Cultures*,¹ is denied to him. The mixture of aims means that, with the exception of an occasional course in Commercial English, the content of the course cannot be specialised; and the variety in kinds and levels of culture makes it almost impossible for a teacher to be sure that he is getting through to the understanding of all his students all the time, at any rate in elementary classes.

The teachers most likely to be suitable for this work are graduates in modern languages, since they themselves have learnt one or more foreign languages and know what is involved in the process. Post-graduate training courses in British universities, however, barely touch on questions of methodology and special teaching techniques. So much is crowded into the post-graduate training year that there is little time left for serious study of these matters. A typical programme for the Post-graduate Certificate in Education in Britain includes:

- (a) Principles of Education,
- (b) Educational Psychology,
- (c) Methods of Instruction,
- (d) History of Education,
- (e) Psychology and School Hygiene,
- (f) Physical Education.

In addition, candidates must offer one or two subjects for special study, usually the subjects in which they have specialised for their degree, and they must put in sixty days' practical work in schools.

¹ Robert Lado, Ann Arbor, 1957.

This programme is concerned exclusively with training teachers of school pupils, and the special considerations of modern language teaching receive relatively little attention. Most of the student's training in this field is gained in his school practice, whose value depends largely on the calibre of the school to which he is sent.

Graduates in English studies, the other possible source of teachers for this work, are even less well prepared for it than modern language specialists. If they take a post-graduate training course, their special subject is almost certain to be teaching English to native speakers. They are unlikely to come into contact with beginners in the language and a good deal of their work, especially at the secondary stage, is only indirectly concerned with the teaching of the English language itself. Their training gives them no opportunity for considering the problems involved in presenting it as a foreign language.

The most serious gap in post-graduate training programmes, for the needs under discussion here, is the absence of any consideration of the special requirements of adults. Yet an understanding of these requirements is essential for any teacher of adult pupils, and equally essential for the pupils themselves, many of whom have come to Britain at considerable expense to learn English. They have no time to waste, and need efficient, intensive instruction by teachers who know what their special wishes and characteristics are. Some of these characteristics are pointed out in an admirable book by Stevick:

Do remember that your adult has lived through much more than children have—more than you have, perhaps. He has a good understanding of the world about him, except that it's in a language other than English. Draw on this background. In reading or in conversation choose topics with which he is already familiar. Later, after he has developed some fluency, he can go on to topics which are new to him.

Do remember that adults, even more than children, will take it hard if you scold them, so don't. They are even likely to feel humiliated by routine corrections...How can you meet this problem? How can you make corrections without making enemies at the same time?¹

A whole host of other considerations, all equally important, can be added to these. There is the question of what is called in

¹ Earl W. Stevick, *Helping People Learn English* (New York, 1955), pp. 80-1.

the U.S.A. 'motivation', the student's reason for wanting to learn English and its effect on the kind of course to which he is most likely to respond whole-heartedly. Again, the effects of fatigue on the learning capacity of part-time students, especially those attending evening classes after a day's work, call for careful study, in order to get the best out of them.

The value or otherwise of formal grammar teaching to adults is another topic of great importance. Nowadays it is accepted that children are best taught foreign languages as much as possible by active methods, involving the use of a series of structural and lexical items within the context of given situations. For instance, they are not likely to be taught, as the writer of this chapter was in his school French classes, that 'the same quality may be compared in two persons, two qualities may be compared in the same person, or the same quality may be compared in the same person at different times'. Instead, they probably go shopping during their French class, and learn in one lesson that potatoes are dearer than carrots, in another lesson that potatoes are dearer today than they were last week, and in yet another lesson (though very much later) that the shopkeeper is more polite than honest.

This sort of approach may not be the best for adults. *Play-acting may not appeal to them as much as it does to children.* It may be that a straightforward presentation of the comparatives of adjectives might be more effective and useful for them, giving them a framework of grammatical information which will fix *this detail of the language in their minds.* If this is true, the question is not whether the teacher should make grammatical statements, but rather what statements he should make, and when.

These are a few of the problems that face teachers of adults. They should form a special subject in themselves in a training course. Where can intending teachers, anxious to make themselves better qualified for their work, find the appropriate training?

Before attempting to answer this, let us take up once more the question of who the teachers are, and what they teach. In a few L.E.A. colleges teachers are employed full-time on this work. In others—and this is much more general—teachers employed primarily to teach other subjects are asked to teach English to foreign students as well. Most of these teachers are graduates,

but obviously not in this particular subject, nor qualified for it by any special post-graduate training, since no such training is available.

It should be said at this point that academic courses in teaching English as a second language in Great Britain have little more relevancy for this work than has any other post-graduate teacher-training course.¹ The emphasis in all of them is on teaching English overseas to school pupils, which is not necessarily the same as teaching it to foreign adults in Britain.

In the independent, privately owned schools of English, some forty of which are recognised by the Department of Education and Science as efficient for their purpose, many of the teachers are graduates. Some of them have had experience of teaching English to adults abroad before taking up this work in Britain. A few of the schools have their own training courses, which members of their staffs may have followed. No more definite statement than this can be made. There is no obligation on the schools to employ either graduates or teachers with relevant previous experience.

Another category of teachers are those who, Malvolio-like, have had foreign students thrust upon them. In one typical dormitory village not far from London, a number of *au pair* girls are usually to be found in the houses of well-to-do residents. Their number is increased by foreign nurses at a group of mental hospitals in the district. All these girls, in the age-range 18-25, require instruction in the English language. For one reason or another they find it difficult to attend regular evening classes, or they want private tuition to supplement such evening classes as they can manage to attend. The result is that housewives locally take them on as private students. The housewives who do so may be trained teachers. They may simply be educated women with a desire to help out and the time to do so. Earl Stevick describes them through the mouth of one of them: 'My only qualification for teaching English is that I speak it. What teaching I do, I do on the basis of friendship, two nights a week.'²

¹ For details see *Academic Courses in Great Britain Relevant to the Teaching of English as a Second Language 1967-68* (The British Council, English-Teaching Information Centre, 1967).

² Earl W. Stevick, *op. cit.* p. 13.

Not all of her British counterparts would claim such disinterested motives for teaching English as this American housewife; but most of them, whether they work primarily for a fee or from a sense of service, do their work conscientiously and would be glad of guidance and training to help them to do it more efficiently.

The absence of training facilities has not passed unnoticed by the press, which often takes the strictly practical line that teaching English to foreign students is an economic asset for Britain. Here is a comment from *The Times*. The writer, after referring to the work of the British Council and of university departments of English as a Foreign Language, continues:

But these initiatives are chiefly directed to the teaching of English abroad. In Britain, although there is this body of information on teaching method available, the majority of foreigners who come are taught by people who, however well meaning, are unaware of the changes that have been going on.

... the central issue is... how enough of those who do the teaching can be given a basic training in technique so as to improve the total system. The chief need is for short courses to train the teachers. Even a week's course could achieve a lot.

Clearly the Department of Education and Science should run one of the high-level courses it has run on other subjects, to show the way. But is the Department geared to do this? There is no staff inspector charged with the specific oversight of English language teaching. It falls somewhere under the heading of 'commerce', although the modern languages inspector also takes an interest. Is this good enough? Perhaps the universities that have special departments should consider putting on short courses as well as the specialised post-graduate ones they do at present. It may not be university standard work—but someone has to do it.¹

The suggestion of short courses is not a novel one. The Department of Education and Science does hold courses in this as in other subjects; but short courses are inadequate. A week's course does not, in fact, achieve very much, except to bring together a number of people who have been battling on in isolation and who can swap notes with each other during the course about their difficulties and achievements.

The Times was correct, however, in pointing out the need for training facilities. What it might have pointed out at the same

¹ *The Times*, 3 May 1966.

time is the need for a certificate or diploma, carrying some professional weight and value, which teachers other than university graduates could qualify for. It would be useful for teachers of other subjects who might wish to teach English to foreign students as well, and it would be a guarantee of the competence of those who had come into this work without any formal qualification. Above all, it would help to introduce a degree of professionalism into a subject which has for too long been a poor relation of all academic subjects in this country.

For most teachers, teaching English to foreign students will never be more than a part-time job. There is no settled career in it. Established posts under Local Education Authorities are few. The ebb and flow of students—too many in the summer and too few in the winter—is bound to cause staffing problems for all but the biggest of the independent language schools. All these considerations affect the standing of the subject and the calibre of those who take it up, except for the few for whom it is a stepping-stone to other posts, for instance in universities. An official qualification, and, even more important, a training course leading up to it, would do a great deal to raise their morale and improve their quality.

A training course of this kind is probably outside the present scope of the university departments of English as a foreign language. Apart from the question of whether they themselves would consider it work of university standard, there is the fact that many of these departments are too small to take on any additional courses. The maximum number of student places in most relevant British university departments appears to be about 20-30, and some at least of the staff concerned also teach in other departments. It is probable that the total number of initial post-graduate training places for teachers of English as a second language is no more than about 120; and as the principal purpose of the courses is to train teachers for work overseas, there seems no possibility of the universities being able to help.

If the figure of 30,000 foreign students of English in Britain at any one time is accepted, and if twenty is taken as the average size of classes (though most of them are smaller), this means that a considerable number of teachers are needed.

Had the university departments concerned with training teachers of English as a second language been concentrated in

two large centres, say London and Edinburgh, instead of being fragmented amongst a number of universities, there might have been some possibility of extending those courses to include the type of teacher under consideration here. The framework of the London University Insititute of Education would appear to be particularly well suited to include provision for training courses of all kinds, provided that the teaching staff was large enough to cater for all needs, and isolated from all other preoccupations.

If such a department could have, attached to it, a teaching institute where practical teaching to foreign students could be carried on, it would be able to provide the sort of training which is needed. For this purpose, again, London would be very well placed, owing to the large numbers of foreign students who come to be taught there.

Even such arrangements as these, however, were they capable of realisation, would not provide a complete solution to the problem. Many of the teachers concerned are, and probably always will be, actively engaged in other teaching already, and would not be able to follow a full-time course. What is needed is a scheme which will allow such teachers to take an examination of a practical kind, and which may stimulate the organisation of part-time training courses by Colleges of Further Education and similar institutions who might be able to include them in their normal range of courses wherever there were enough candidates to make up a class.

Realising the need for such a scheme, the Department of Education and Science, in 1966, asked the Royal Society of Arts to put forward proposals for a Teacher's Certificate in English as a Second or Foreign Language. The Society, which has long experience of conducting professional examinations, had created a similar certificate, some years before, to fill a similar need, in this case a qualification for teachers of shorthand and typewriting. It was felt that teachers of these subjects ought, in addition to the *basic skills that they teach*, to have some understanding both of the methods required for teaching them and of general principles and practice of teaching in relation to the kind of student with whom they have to deal. They should know how to teach, and think about how to teach, as well as reaching the required standards in shorthand and typewriting; but considerations of teaching should be firmly tied to these skills and should not stray into unnecessary or

theoretical considerations. About 2,000 candidates took these examinations in 1963-4.

On the basis of experience in this type of examination, the Royal Society of Arts modelled the regulations for the Teacher's Certificate in English as a Second or Foreign Language as closely as possible on those for the Certificates for Teachers of Shorthand and Typewriting. This places the examination on the necessary practical footing, and provides a clear-cut syllabus for candidates to follow. It should also lead to the establishment of training courses, since the object of the scheme is not merely the provision of a certificate but the assurance that its holders have had adequate training to earn it.

The pattern of the examination, of its scope and of the type of teacher for whom it is intended are clear. Both graduates and non-graduates are entitled to take it, though non-graduates will normally be asked to take a preliminary examination to determine their own standard of written and spoken English. This is the equivalent of the 'basic skill' test in shorthand and typewriting.

Entries for the final examination are accepted normally from candidates who have followed an approved course of study. This means that, whatever their other academic qualifications, they cannot take the examination unless they have had special training for it.

The final examination is in two parts, a written examination and a practical test. The written examination consists of two papers, one on Principles and Practice of Teaching English as a Second or Foreign Language, and one on Preparation and Use of Teaching Materials and Aids. For the practical test, candidates are required to give two lessons at different levels, one of which must be elementary.

This scheme should make it possible for teachers, whatever their previous experience or other qualifications, to prove their fitness to teach English to adult foreign students. Its success will depend on the establishment of suitable training courses. Certain of the independent Recognised schools already have training schemes for teachers, and may be willing to adapt their courses to the needs of the examination. It is to be hoped that Local Education Authorities will also be willing and able to provide courses in areas where there are competent lecturers and sufficient demand from candidates.

What is the content of English language courses for foreign students in Britain? The courses are determined largely by the requirements of four examining bodies:

- (a) The Cambridge University Local Examinations Syndicate.
- (b) The Royal Society of Arts.
- (c) The London Chamber of Commerce.
- (d) The Pitman Examinations Institute.

The examinations of these four bodies can be taken both in Britain and at overseas centres, though for all of them there are probably more candidates in Britain than abroad.

The most specialised are the examinations of the London Chamber of Commerce. These examinations test the candidate's knowledge of commercial English and of current affairs. A compulsory test is the writing of a business letter. An oral/aural test of a strictly practical nature is included, and there is a dictation test, but there is no translation paper. The examinations are in two stages: Intermediate and Higher.

Pitman's examinations have a more general content. They are in three stages: Elementary, Intermediate and Advanced. They have no oral test, but they include dictation and written answers to questions based on a passage read aloud. There is no translation paper.

The prospectus defines their scope in these words: 'Knowledge of another language involves the ability to do four different things: (1) to speak it; (2) to understand the spoken word; (3) to write it; and (4) to understand the written word.'

The fourth of these skills is tested by the provision of a written passage on which questions must be answered in writing. The Advanced stage includes a test in *précis* writing.

The examinations of the Royal Society of Arts are also in three stages. Each stage comprises a written test and an oral test (dictation, reading and conversation), and certificates are awarded on the aggregate of marks in both parts of the examination. In the written papers for Stage I there are tests on vocabulary and punctuation, and the candidate must express in his own words the content of a short passage. He must also be able to describe simple actions and processes, and write a simple composition or letter.

In Stage II there are more difficult and longer tests on the same syllabus; and the correction of faulty sentences, the use

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In Stage II there are more difficult and longer tests on the same syllabus; and the correction of faulty sentences, the use

of common abbreviations and sentence-building are added. Additional tests are given in Stage III on idioms and colloquialisms, and on knowledge of the everyday life of ordinary people in Britain and of its institutions. There is no translation test.

The examinations of the Cambridge University Local Examinations Syndicate attract more candidates than those already described, and offer tests in two skills not directly tested by any of the others, namely, extensive reading and translation. In 1964, translation papers were set in twenty-one foreign languages.

Nearly 42,000 candidates entered for these examinations in that year at centres throughout the world, slightly more than half of them in Britain. The teaching programme of many schools of English for foreign students in Britain are geared exclusively to them, and those which teach for other examinations usually provide courses for them as well. They are in three stages:

1. Lower Certificate in English.
2. Certificate of Proficiency in English.
3. Diploma of English Studies.

The Certificate of Proficiency was founded in 1913 and the Lower Certificate in 1939. The Diploma was added in 1940 at the suggestion of the British Council, which wanted to provide an examination in English of university level for students prevented by the war from attending university courses in this subject in Britain. The examinations are conducted under the joint sponsorship of the University of Cambridge and the British Council.

They test attainment to a higher level than any of the other examinations. The standard of the Diploma of English Studies is equated by the Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate with the first year of an honours course in modern languages at a British university.

These certificates are highly prized by overseas students, particularly the Proficiency Certificate. Many employers in foreign countries who have dealings with English-speaking countries give preference to its holders. Candidates for places in schools for interpreters and translators also find its possession an advantage, and in some countries it is an asset for teachers of English. The Proficiency Certificate and the Diploma are en-

language, they need training in the difference between spelling and pronunciation, which so often in English defies 'rules' or analogy.

There is much disagreement amongst teachers about the value of phonetics in language teaching and indeed about what exactly is meant by phonetics in terms of methodology. One of the best statements on this point was made by A. Lloyd-James, formerly Professor of Phonetics in the University of London:

The teacher must know the elements of phonetic science in order to teach pronunciation, just as he must know some psychology in order to teach arithmetic. But he does not teach psychology, and he should not teach phonetics. He should teach pronunciation.¹

The same book makes clear how essential it is for teachers of adults to have a thorough knowledge of phonetics:

[An infant] is a perfect talking machine, just waiting for the brain to develop sufficiently to direct him. Catch him young and he will talk any language as perfectly as his mentor. And now begins the tragedy... The mother tongue is all around him... And the end is inevitable... He was born linguistically capable of anything; in our hands he has become a monoglot. His speech mechanism acquires set habits which he will find difficult in later life to modify; he will have an outfit of sounds, rhythms and intonations which, however adequate they may be for the performance of his mother tongue in his own individual fashion, will be a desperate handicap to him if he finds it necessary in later life either to speak his mother tongue in a different way, or to learn to speak a foreign language.²

The value of phonetic notation in teaching is a controversial point; but phonetic transcriptions seem to be coming increasingly into use in text-book courses and dictionaries, and teachers who fail to make use of them are not helping their students to get the most out of available books.

A defence of phonetics may seem needless to university lecturers and students; but experience of adult classes in Britain shows that there is a great deal of work to be done to persuade teachers of the importance of the subject for them.

So far we have discussed only the situation in Britain. Training for British teachers wishing to teach adults abroad is equally difficult to find under present arrangements. The point has

¹ A. Lloyd-James, *Our Spoken Language* (London, 1938).

² A. Lloyd-James, *op. cit.* pp. 35-7.

already been made that university courses do not concern themselves with training teachers of adults. This may be because only courses for training teachers of full-time school pupils are grant-earning. It may also be because the main interest of the British Council and of overseas governments who recruit university post-graduate-trained teachers is in strengthening the teaching of the subject at school level. It may equally be because, as *The Times* suggests in the article quoted on p. 49 above, the subject is not considered of university level.

Yet there is an enormous demand all over the world for classes in English for adults, and British English is demanded with steady insistence. The B.B.C.'s English by Radio programmes, the nearest thing yet produced in Britain to systematic adult courses, go out from more than 260 stations in 90 countries. 20,000 candidates a year, as we have already said, enter for the Cambridge examinations abroad. There are British Council institutes and Anglophil Societies assisted by the Council in 22 countries. In 1964 there were over 69,000 students attending classes at these centres.¹ New areas continue to open up. One of the latest is French-speaking Africa. In three capitals in West Africa, Dakar, Lomé and Abidjan, *centres linguistiques* have been established jointly by the British Council and the Ministry of Overseas Development. At these centres classes are given by British teachers, using language laboratory techniques, to government employees officially chosen to attend them, and to any other applicants who are lucky enough to find places in them. The demand for places always outstrips the supply.

In Europe, Latin America, the Middle East and the Far East, adults have studied English as a cultural subject in spare-time classes for many years. A British Institute was founded in Florence in 1918. In the 1930s, institutes on the same model were established in the Argentine and Brazil. The British Council itself was founded in 1934, with the specific purpose of developing an interest in the English language overseas, and one of its most important activities soon became the founding of British Institutes under its own control.

There is no room here for a detailed account of these institutes. They vary in size, and they are controlled and managed in a number of ways. Some of them, especially in the Argentine and Brazil, have classes for children as well as for adults, and

¹ The British Council, *Annual Report for 1964-65*, p. 59, Appendix 5.

conduct training courses for their own teachers. Others accept only adult pupils. Most of them offer classes for all grades of student from beginners upwards, but some are more selective.

Staffing arrangements vary. Some institutes are staffed entirely by British teachers. Others have a proportion of locally-born teachers (for whom the training courses in South American institutes are chiefly intended). But whatever their constitution, size or staffing arrangements, practically all of them (setting aside specific courses for local university examinations) teach for the Cambridge examinations.

The age-range and type of student is much the same as in Britain. They are mainly between eighteen and twenty-five, and their reasons for learning English vary from a purely cultural interest in the language to a desire to learn it for professional purposes. The two main differences between classes overseas and those in Britain are (obviously) that classes abroad are monolingual groups and, secondly, that there is more evening work abroad than at home.

These two points in themselves, coupled with the enormous field for experiment that the classes offer, suggest immediately the importance of two fields for research work. One is the technique of comparative language study. The other is the effect of fatigue on language-learners and ways of overcoming it. Translation, of course, is also possible in these classes.

The syllabus and methodology of many classes overseas has in the past been determined largely by text-books produced in Britain as well as by the Cambridge examinations. Existing text-books have a number of drawbacks in the hands of an untrained teacher. Their content, being designed for students in Britain and not abroad, is often remote from the experience of those who have never been to Britain. 'Tea at the Corner House' or 'Christmas Day on the Underground' are not the most practical of topics for students in Isfahan or Dakar. The content is also generalised in its interest. It rarely attempts to provide for special professional or technical interests. For instance, no satisfactory book has been produced in Britain for teaching English to service personnel in the NATO countries, nor for use by airport personnel and aircrews, although English is used throughout the world in controlling air traffic.

is often quite unadapted to the needs of particular language groups. The result is that the teacher is constantly obliged either to give 'explanations' in English which are harder to understand than the point that he is trying to explain or (if he can) to translate.

Two examples will give some idea of the possibilities for mischief of this type of book. The first is taken from a well-known and popular course, which in teaching 'grammar' makes these two statements:

'An adjective qualifies a noun.'

'An adverb qualifies a verb.'

One's reaction to these two statements proves how far they are from being complete or accurate:

'I feel ill.'

'I feel very ill.'

The other is from a book which makes use of mnemonics to teach English:

'In speaking or in writing, in response to a request,
Don't say "I'll do my possible", but say "I'll do my best".'

This suggests another field for research overseas, and that is the preparation of suitable text-books. As a recent book on the relation between linguistics and language teaching says: 'The nature of the text-books which are available to the teacher and to the class will have a profound effect on the way instruction is carried out. The writers of text-books therefore carry a heavy weight of responsibility.'¹

Fortunately a revolution in text-book writing has taken place in the past few years, and works of the kind described above are unlikely to survive. In the Argentine, for instance, a series of books prepared for Latin-American students is being produced by teachers at the Buenos Aires Anglo-Argentine Cultural Association, under the general title of the *ACUTE* scheme (Argentine-Chile-Uruguay-Teaching-English); and in Sweden, the British Centre, of which more is said later on in this chapter, has for several years prepared special materials for the use of its own teachers.

¹ M. A. K. Halliday, Angus McIntosh and Peter Strevens, *The Linguistic Sciences and Language Teaching* (London, 1964), Introduction, pp. xii-xiii.

What is needed in addition is a revolution in the preparation of teachers. For a properly trained teacher, almost any book will serve, merely as a check on the ground he has covered. An untrained or badly trained teacher is likely to make poor use even of a good text-book. A book can be a good servant but a bad master.

The trouble is that teaching adults abroad offers no more of a progressive career than it does in Britain. Most teaching institutes have to meet their expenses, including teachers' salaries, largely or entirely by receipts from fees. There are limits to the extent to which fees can be increased. Rises in the cost of living affect students as well as teachers. An increase in fees may result in loss of revenue, although a rise in pay for teachers may be overdue, in these times of inflation. Progressive increments are impossible in these conditions. Pension schemes and social security arrangements are expensive and difficult to arrange in many places. There are few opportunities for promotion, and mobility is restricted. A teacher who moves from one institute to another may have to start at the foot of the ladder again, especially if he goes to another country.

In these circumstances there is little inducement for British teachers to make themselves more efficient for teaching abroad, unless experience in this work is likely to lead to something more permanent. The British Centre in Stockholm, which operates the only integrated and systematic scheme for training British teachers to teach adults abroad, has always had this in mind. The Centre established its classes in 1955, when thirty-five teachers from Britain, mainly recent graduates, were deployed in various towns in Sweden after a preliminary training course in Stockholm. They gained experience both in adult and in school teaching and their work was constantly supervised. The scheme has grown, and has spread to other north European countries, notably West Germany, but the principles of training, provision of supporting materials and supervision of teaching have always been maintained.

The teachers who are recruited for this work are not led to regard it necessarily as a career. They may sign on for a year, for two years, possibly even for a third spell, but the Centre expects that most of them will regard their stay in Sweden or Germany only as a trial canter before they settle down to their life's work. They may or may not wish to make a career of

teaching. If they are not cut out for teachers, a year with the Centre will help them to find this out. However, in the years since the Centre began its classes, some 390 teachers have passed through its hands. How many of them have remained in teaching is not known, but at least 150 have taken up teaching English as a foreign language for their careers. They have found their way into responsible posts in universities at home and abroad, in British Council service and in a variety of school and training-college work.

What is most noteworthy about this scheme, apart from its achievement, is that it is self-supporting as far as the British taxpayer is concerned. It relies on fees from students and schools and from local adult education grants. It pays its teachers enough to live on, and it provides them with the services and after-care which a good employer should.

It is improbable that the British Council, with a world-wide range of educational activities to keep going, could mount an operation of this kind. It has set on foot very effective teacher-training schemes in its time, for instance in Madras (see chapter 8, p. 193), but these have been and continue to be largely for locally born teachers in countries still in need of aid. The kind of teacher produced by the British Centre, if he stays in this work, will very likely find himself sooner or later engaged in the sort of teacher-training which is the British Council's main business.

The British Council itself, however, could prepare a small number of teachers in its own institutes abroad. One institute, in Madrid, already has attached to it a training centre for British graduates. Its present purpose is to provide training in school work, but students at the centre have plenty of opportunity to observe and, if they wish, take part in adult teaching at the institute. It should not be difficult to provide a training programme for one or two probationers in adult teaching, and a large part of their training, apart from actual classes, could be worked in with that of the graduates who are doing school practice. The Madrid Institute has about 2,500 students, so that it could provide a good range of classes.

Another institute where probationers could be given good training is the British Institute in Athens. This institute has about 750 students, all at a fairly high level when they begin, and including a number of teachers of English. It is not difficult

to think of others, in Europe and in countries not much further away, where similar opportunities could be provided. All these institutes have been in existence for some years, and are carried on in the orderly and efficient manner which an apprentice teacher needs; and each of them has on its staff an experienced Director of Studies.

A modest training scheme could even be made self-supporting. All these institutes have a number of local contracts for full-time teachers. Suppose that each institute, in the first year of the scheme, took in one probationer and used one of these contracts to pay him. He could stay for two years, being joined at the end of his first year by another probationer. In this way there would be an overlap, with one trainee always a year ahead of the other, and the institute would not be faced with two beginners at a time.

The best potential trainees for this purpose would be graduates in modern languages, either with or without a post-graduate certificate. Those without one would be particularly well fitted to take a post-graduate training course in Britain at the end of their two years' teaching. The others would be able to test the validity of what they had learned during their training year.

Two trainees only are suggested because they would be under the supervision of the Director of Studies, who would be unlikely to have time to take on any more in addition to his other duties. The elements of the training programme might be:

(a) The trainee would make a specific study of a number of works dealing with aspects of language and language teaching, with special reference to English. These should cover: (i) the essential groundwork of general and applied linguistics; (ii) the structure of contemporary English and its 'grammar'; (iii) phonetics and phonology; (iv) methodology of language teaching; (v) attainment testing; (vi) preparation of teaching materials; (vii) the use of 'aids'.

(b) He would prepare lessons in advance, justify them to the Director of Studies before giving them, and report to him later on their success or failure.

(c) He should consider how far any difficulties that his students experience are caused by features 'embedded' in the English language which seem to offer equal difficulty to most foreign learners, and how far they are due to structural or

phonic differences between English and the student's own language. This would necessitate some study of the local language.

(d) He should teach at as many levels as would be practicable. A time-table of say eighteen hours a week would enable the trainee to earn his pay, and at the same time to pursue the course of study outlined here.

At the end of two years spent in this manner, it should be clear to the trainee (and if not to him, certainly to the Director of Studies, who would report back accordingly) whether there was likely to be a career for him in teaching English as a foreign language, for instance as a career British Council officer; but this period should be followed immediately by a university training course. This would have to be a different kind of course from those at present available. A suitable course would include:

(a) Consideration of the needs of specialised groups learning English for professional, scientific or technical needs.

(b) Consideration of the different needs and abilities of adults and school pupils.

(c) A good deal of seminar discussion, with an atmosphere of shared experience rather than of lecturer and students.

To round off such a course, there would be regular teaching of groups of foreign students in a teaching institute. This institute would perform the very useful function of bringing the English of candidates from overseas for university places up to the standard required for them to follow their university course successfully. At such an institute many kinds of techniques could be developed, such as the use of films and television in language teaching, while teaching materials could be prepared for special groups. Work on programmed materials, of which there is a great dearth in Britain, might also be developed. The primary purpose of the classes would be educational, not financial, and the only place where foreign students would be available in sufficient numbers is London.

This brings us back to the point that if training facilities for teachers of adults are to be improved in Britain, concentration and not dispersal of effort is needed. There are very few places in Britain where courses of the kind that the Royal Society of Arts Teacher's Certificate has in view can be laid on at the present time. Qualified staff are not available in sufficient numbers. Without qualified training staff there will not be qualified

teachers. We are back to the riddle of the hen and the egg; but 'In recent times, language teaching, particularly the teaching of English as a second language, has become big business.'¹

It is indeed big business, which now requires expert and co-ordinated management. For too long it has remained in the hands of individual enterprise, occasionally competent, often inefficient, sometimes merely profiteering. If the foreign student seeks a supermarket he won't be satisfied by a general store, least of all by a jumble sale. The English language is one of Britain's national assets; it is high time more efficient efforts were made to satisfy the increasing demand from overseas customers.

¹ Halliday, McIntosh and Stevens, *op. cit.* p. viii.

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ADVANCED STUDY AND THE
EXPERIENCED TEACHER*by S. P. Corder*

Language-teachers need specialist training. It is not sufficient merely that they have a knowledge of the language they are going to teach: they must, in addition to their general training as teachers, receive special training in how to teach languages. This, at least, is now becoming generally accepted. But such is the pace of educational and technological change that it is more and more likely that some, at least, of those who have received specialised initial training will need a further period of professional study and orientation at a later stage in their career.

Educational change has brought both a great increase in language teaching, and a new attitude to the function of language learning in the educational process. Technological change has brought electro-mechanical equipment and its associated techniques into the classroom. At the same time research in the fields of linguistics, sociology and psychology has yielded a better understanding of language itself, its function in society, its relation to the processes of thought, and the manner of its acquisition.

In these circumstances the experienced language-teacher need feel no shame in admitting to a need for a further period of professional study in mid-career. Indeed, it is essential to the health of any profession that fundamental advances in theory and practice should be continuously fed into the system, and at the same time that a regular flow of recruits should be available to carry on the work of research and development. There are good reasons why this should be done in mid-career: first, because what is learnt in initial training will nowadays be out-of-date well before retirement; secondly, because the relevance of these studies can often best be realised by an experienced teacher, and thirdly, because the applications of these discoveries in the classroom are normally matters for the decision of the senior people in the profession, i.e. departmental heads,

headmasters, training college tutors, inspectors and directors of education.

It is a fact, perhaps a sad one, that promotion in a profession nearly always brings with it a change of activity; often in the direction of more administrative duties and policy-making; or in the direction of training of others in the profession, or in control of others by inspection. To a classroom teacher this advance may mean a move to any of these duties: headmastering, teacher-training, the inspectorate, research or university teaching. It is a limited view of education to suppose that only what goes on in the classroom is important, and naïve to suppose that the pupils' effective learning is solely attributable to the activities of the classroom teacher. It is certainly true that the learner is the object of teaching, but the classroom teacher is only the end-point of a chain of activities all directed towards the pupils' learning. If ever there was a time when all the work of teaching was done by the classroom teacher it has long since passed, to the point now that in some extreme cases the teacher's contribution is little more than the keeping of classroom discipline. This has happened in certain cases where teaching has been done by television.

In a very true sense a great part of the whole teaching operation is now done outside the classroom, and certainly most of the important decisions about teaching, those which govern its development as a profession, are made outside. The people who take these decisions should be the most fully informed and up-to-date in their knowledge. How often has one heard the classroom teacher say: 'I know that the methods you advocate will get better results, but, of course, I shan't be allowed to use them!' The cure for this unhappy state of affairs is advanced study by those experienced teachers who are going to take the decisions in the future.

There will be some who say that all that is required of those holding responsible positions is that they should have had long practice at a lower level, that they should be 'experienced' teachers. To hold this view is to suggest that the profession has nothing of value to learn from the outside world, that advance and development is a purely empirical process. Let us, however, for a moment consider what we might mean in this context by 'experienced'. It is clearly not enough that a person shall have been exposed to 'experience' for him to learn, that is, to

become more proficient in his work. We know all too well that long years of classroom teaching do not automatically bring with them greater knowledge and success. On the contrary, they only too often give rise to complacency and self-satisfaction. To be able to learn from experience is partly a question of personality, but also depends on the quality of initial training, and it is clear at the present time that the initial training practising teachers have had varies considerably in extent and quality. It has ranged from specialist post-graduate training in the most favourable cases, to no formal training of any kind at all in the least favourable. It may have consisted of a first degree in philology and literature; this may have been followed by a general training in teaching in a post-graduate certificate course in education. Alternatively, it may have been a three- or four-year teacher-training course in a college of education, which may or may not have included a specialist language-teaching component in the syllabus. We can see that the relevance of these to the special task of language teaching is very variable, although all but the degree course certainly serve the purpose of turning out people who know something of what teaching is all about. Nevertheless, all initial training suffers in some measure from having to approach the specialist-training component prescriptively. This is because there is too little time available for adequate study of the fundamentals upon which language-teaching methods and materials are based: the nature of language, its function in society and how it is learned.

It is true that most teacher-training does contain components such as the sociology and philosophy of education, and the history and organisation of education, which are designed to qualify the teacher in the light of his subsequent experience to assume general educational responsibilities. His initial training, however, even where it has had a specialist component, does not equip him to take important decisions later on in the teaching policy of his speciality, its methods and materials. In his own field, his training enables him only to undertake the day-to-day stint in the classroom within a framework largely decided by others (if clearly decided at all).

The most relevant available initial training coupled with considerable and fruitful experience may qualify the outstanding teacher to assume positions where these important technical decisions are taken. But simply being a successful classroom

teacher obviously does not alone give such a qualification. A willingness to learn, a desire to remain abreast of recent developments and a quality of open-mindedness about new ideas are all characteristics one seeks in a policy-maker. Experience in the field of advanced studies for language-teachers has shown that the experienced teacher having these characteristics is precisely the one who feels the strongest desire to deepen his theoretical knowledge and to widen the range of his practical experience and techniques by further study. After all, no teacher can experience the whole range of language teaching in terms of age, social and cultural background of pupils, levels of achievement, differing objectives of teaching, types of course, technical equipment, and a great variety of educational systems. A teacher tends to acquire his experience in one region, in one type of school, with one sort of pupil; however long he experiences these conditions, he will be unable to make valid generalisations about the whole field of language teaching, its materials, methods and technical equipment. And yet, in a position of responsibility the teacher will have to take decisions in fields lying outside his experience. He may be required to draw up syllabuses and course programmes, or produce teaching materials for pupils of whose background, age, abilities and needs he has no direct personal knowledge. He may also have to select machines and their accompanying material and prescribe techniques which he has never made use of in his own classroom work. We cannot assume that because a teacher has had success in a particular classroom situation, he will, without further ado, be competent, for example, to prepare materials for the language laboratory or write teaching scripts for television. Only a profounder understanding of language in all its aspects, and how it is acquired—that is, some sort of fundamental theoretical framework on which he can rely—will enable him to undertake these tasks with confidence.

From what has been said so far the aims of advanced study in the field of language teaching will have become clear: to take selected teachers with sound initial training and a history of successful classroom experience, and qualify them to assume major responsibility for decisions of language-teaching policy in all its aspects: its materials, its methods and its training in a wide variety of conditions, financial, human and technical. This, in current jargon, is the *terminal behaviour* proposed for advanced study.

Whatever strategies may be employed to achieve this end, they cannot include prescription. That is why nowhere in this chapter do I use the term 're-training'. The implications of this term always have some prescriptive notions about them, and the use of the term 're-training' would suggest that the experienced teacher needed to unlearn what he had learnt in his initial training and his experience in the classroom. Instead, I have used the term 'advanced study'. By the time an experienced teacher has reached mid-career, if he has those qualities which the decision-maker needs, he will already have learnt that there is no single answer to the problems of language teaching, and certainly no one right solution. It is therefore useless to adopt the sort of prescriptive approach which is necessary and inevitable at the initial training level.

It may appear, at this point, that there is nothing to prevent the teacher gaining by his own unaided efforts a knowledge of modern theories and practice in his field. Surely there are professional journals, research reports, text-books, and descriptions of equipment? Such materials certainly exist in abundance; but are they accessible? How is the teacher to set about finding them, and, having found them, to interpret them, to know what is relevant and up-to-date and what is superseded? Has the practising teacher time and opportunity to do this research while carrying his normal teaching load? The answer is no.

A period of formal advanced study offers three things: access to information, help and guidance in his studies, and an opportunity to observe, discuss and practise new techniques. All these require one thing: adequate time, that is, freedom from professional duties for a prolonged period, at least one academic year and preferably longer. The only point in drawing attention to this fact is that the familiar, short, in-service courses do not offer this facility and therefore are not appropriate to the needs of the sort of experienced teacher we have in mind.

Access to information means, of course, access to specialised libraries containing not only the standard texts in the basic academic disciplines, but also the relevant journals, reprints from journals in cognate fields, research reports, occasional papers, unpublished papers of limited distribution, reports of conferences and seminars, dissertations, and M.A. and Ph.D. theses. But it also means contact with fellow-teachers. The range of experience of even the most experienced teacher is very

limited. This has already been suggested. One has only to think of the number of different countries where English is taught, the variety of mother tongues of the learners, the different types of educational systems, to say nothing of the enormous variety of texts, equipment and techniques, to realise that this must be so. Indeed, it would be no exaggeration to say that every teacher has a unique experience. It is clear, therefore, that the opportunity for formal and informal discussion and exchange of experience and opinion is a most valuable feature of advanced study. It is difficult to see how the same ends could be achieved by any other means except prolonged travel and observation.

First, access to information means contact with the teaching staff of the university department. Their experience and knowledge is of a different sort. Many of them, too, will have had teaching experience, but, like that of the students, it will be limited. They may, however, in the course of their work have had the chance to visit a greater variety of teaching situations as observers and advisers. But their contribution to advanced study is more on the theoretical side. It derives from their knowledge and research into the fundamental disciplines of linguistics, psychology and sociology, and their understanding of the relevance and application of these to language teaching.

Secondly, advanced students need help and guidance in their studies. This means teaching; perhaps this will take the form of lectures, but often, more appropriately, of seminars, tutorials and practical classes, as well as private discussion and supervision by academic staff. I deliberately call this sort of teaching help and guidance, since, as I have insisted, the approach is not prescriptive. On the other hand, we have also noted that in the academic disciplines of linguistics, psychology and sociology, the student will find it difficult to make progress in his studies without considerable help. Experience shows that it is uneconomical of time, and thus inefficient, to attempt these studies unaided.

Finally, the advanced student must have the opportunity to observe a number of techniques connected with language teaching which he may not have had the opportunity of learning in his classroom experience. I am here thinking not so much of classroom techniques as of those which involve mechanical aids such as the language laboratory, teaching machine, film and television. But these techniques also include the prepara-

tion of materials such as syllabuses, text-books, programmed instructional courses, and scripts. In order to do this, he must have the opportunity to examine the materials which others have prepared for these purposes, such as collections of text-books from many sources, syllabuses for many situations, audio-visual courses, sound tapes, teaching films, filmstrips and tele-recordings.

The advanced students' work can be seen then to have two interrelated aspects: what we may call the *theoretical* aspect and the *practical* aspect. We must now consider each separately.

If the techniques of language teaching are to advance and develop, it is clearly more economical of time and money that they should do so in a principled fashion. By this I mean that change should be directed rather than random, that it should follow principles rather than trial-and-error. We want to know not just that one technique or one set of materials appears in certain circumstances to be more successful than another, but to know also *why* this might be so (or better still, but not easily proved, why this *is* so). We want to know what the principles underlying success or failure are. In other words, we want not only *descriptions* but *explanations*. The justification for theoretical studies is that in them, if anywhere, is to be found the understanding of the nature of language and how it is learned which provide these explanations.

It is sometimes maintained that language teaching has been going on a long time quite satisfactorily without teachers knowing anything about linguistics, psychology of language or the sociology of language. Now it is true that languages have been learnt from time immemorial, but how much this was due to the activities of the teacher, as opposed to those of the pupil, might be disputed. That teachers have known nothing about language is patently untrue. All of us have been learning some part of what is now called 'linguistics' from the primary school on; all of us have been talking about language since we started school, and to do so we have been using theoretical categories which can only be called linguistic in the broadest sense most of our lives. Until these categories have become systematically definable and relatable to each other they would be best called 'pre-linguistic'. We talk about *paragraphs*, *sentences*, *words*, *punctuation*, *letters*, *tone of voice*, *accent*, *stress*, to name only a few which are the common property of any educated person. But,

of course, language-teachers through the study of the languages they teach are more sophisticated; they talk about *speech sounds, intonation, parts of speech, nouns, verbs, adjectives, agreement, concord, prefixes and suffixes, tenses, cases, gender, number, subjects and objects, about main clauses and subordinate clauses* and about *interrogative, imperative and declarative sentences*. These are all abstract concepts about language. Indeed, the language-teacher who has never been introduced to 'linguistics' already knows a great deal about language in what are basically linguistic terms. As J. P. Thorne has said: 'There is still incomparably more information about the structure of utterances in the average grammar book or dictionary than is to be found about the structure of visual experience, in all the books of the Gestalt psychologists put together.' Linguistics has been called the study of what a native speaker knows about his language in order to speak it; it is the more or less explicit externalisation of the internalised rules he uses to speak and understand his own language. Anyone who claims that he has been teaching English for years but knows nothing about linguistics is mistaken. What he does not know is the meaning of the word 'linguistics'. It is true, as I have suggested, that most people have acquired this theoretical linguistic knowledge in a haphazard fashion through the study of their own mother tongue, or a second language, rather than through the direct study of language as an independent discipline in its own right during their initial training. But this means only that they have been learning inductively rather than deductively.

What the ordinary teacher knows, then, about linguistics is considerable, but this knowledge normally suffers from being unsystematic; the various concepts, some of which I have listed already, are not explicitly related to each other, and the categories he uses are rather ill-defined. Modern linguistics aims to offer a comprehensive, precise and systematic account of the formal aspects of language.

What I wish to suggest here is that a teacher cannot teach a language by any of the current techniques without linguistic knowledge, and that he does make constant use of what are basically linguistic concepts in his teaching. Indeed, the suggestion that a teacher can manage adequately without the sort of knowledge I have outlined, however vague, confused and unsystematic, is preposterous. Since trained teachers do invariably

use linguistic notions in their teaching, whether they realise it or not, it is clearly desirable that as far as possible these should be the best available, and, because of the great amount of research devoted to language in recent years, this means the most recent.

The linguistic knowledge of most teachers derives from the theories current half a century or more ago, and nowadays often called 'traditional'. These theories were held at a time when the linguists' main interest lay in describing and accounting for historical change in language, and their methods were devised to that end. The modern interest in language as a phenomenon in itself has led to a different theoretical approach, and to different techniques. Most teachers will agree from their own experience in the classroom that their philological studies (if they did any) have not been of great direct help to them in their teaching. It is not surprising, therefore, that their knowledge has had to be considerably supplemented over the years by the pragmatic insights into language acquired by other experienced teachers. These have added considerably to the effective use of traditional linguistic notions in the work of teaching, without, however, greatly adding to their precision, coherence or systematisation. It is at least partly the fault of the academic linguists that so little of the advances in their discipline in this century have found their way into the syllabuses of schools, colleges and university language departments. There are hopeful signs that this situation is being put right, and a number of universities are now including courses in general linguistics for their students of languages, both foreign and mother tongue.

What is true of linguistics is also true of psychology and sociology, although, perhaps, in a different way. It is trivial to point out that we constantly use terms like *knowledge, know, thought, think, understand, learn, forget, recall, remember, punishment, reward, motive, teach, habit, response*, to list only those which are connected with the process of learning. These are what we might call pre-psychological terms, on the analogy of the expression pre-linguistic already used above. More specifically, language-teachers talk about *linguistic habits*, about *reading, writing, speaking* and *understanding*, about *receptive* and *productive verbal skills* and about *associations* between words and things. These concepts are, admittedly, even more vague than the

linguistic concepts we have been discussing. This is not surprising when we consider the relatively recent development of psychology as a science, the absence of any widely accepted general theory of human psychology, and, more particularly, the lack of interest which psychologists have shown until recently in human verbal behaviour. Of course, many language-teachers will have had an introduction to educational psychology in their initial training. But this is unlikely to have included any special consideration of such psycho-linguistic topics as language acquisition, competence and performance models, linguistic interference and facilitation, intelligibility, perception of speech and bilingualism, to mention only a few of those which have relevance for the language-teacher.

If the linguistic study of language has a history stretching back over 2,000 years, sociology and social anthropology, like psychology, only began to achieve a status separate from that of philosophy about 100 years ago, and it is only much more recently that people have recognised that these disciplines have a contribution to make to language teaching. The classroom teacher has always been aware that a language is related to the way of life, social organisation and institutions of the people who speak it. He may not be able, however, to say what this relationship is. In this he is not alone, as the growing literature on linguistic relativity witnesses. Traditionally one of the main reasons for learning a language was to gain an understanding of the culture of the people whose language it was. The entrance into this culture was through literature. There are a number of ways in which teachers are conscious of the relations between language and culture. It is evident, for example, that the vocabulary of one language is often inadequate for coping with certain aspects of the life and thought of another people, when translation is used as a language-teaching technique. Teachers have also long realised that, for example, when to speak and when not to, or when it is appropriate to write a letter and when not, are things which have to be taught anew in the second language. Less well understood and accepted is the fact that certain forms of language are appropriate on one occasion but not on another, that, for example, adults do not talk to teenagers as they talk to each other, or that the language of a legal contract is not the same as the language of a scientific text-book. The form of language varies according to its function

in social situations. There is, I believe, an increasing awareness by experienced language-teachers of the need to prepare their pupils to use the second language for specific social purposes. The description of these social situations and the distinctions drawn between one purpose and another are made in sociological terms, and using sociological concepts, such as *role*, *group*, *class*, *status*, *interaction*.

Furthermore, it has been common knowledge to most people, not only to teachers, that language varies according to the part of the country the speaker comes from; the notion of dialect—a socio-linguistic notion—is very ancient. Though teachers are now becoming aware of all these things, they may have no very adequate means for explaining them. Indeed, the way we were taught our own language has often led us to believe that there is one ideal form of the language which we should strive to use and teach for all occasions. Here our belief and our own practice are often in flat contradiction. If there is anything that a language-teacher may have to unlearn, it is not so much in the area of linguistics as in the field of socio-linguistics and the way he regards his own language.

For many years it was assumed that the only academic discipline which had direct relevance to language teaching was phonetics. Of all the linguistic sciences it was the earliest to achieve systematisation and rigour. The reason for this was that language is superficially a physical phenomenon for which the theory and methods of the physical and biological sciences (in this case physics, anatomy and physiology) were already available. After all, in any science we start from observables, and the observables in spoken language are physical movements of the body and vibrations in the air, both of which can be measured. No one, however, did, or would now, suggest that language teaching is just applied phonetics. On the other hand, with the development of modern linguistic studies in recent years, there has been a tendency so to stress their importance in the teaching of languages that some people mistakenly considered that they were the only relevant academic studies for the language-teacher. Thus, 'applied linguistics' became a synonym for 'language-teaching studies'. The implication of everything I have said so far contradicts this narrow point of view. Linguistic studies do, indeed, have an application in language teaching, as I hope to show, and I have already pointed out that the

ordinary language-teacher has always used fundamentally linguistic concepts in his work; but linguistics is not the only contributory discipline, nor does it uniquely find its application in language teaching.

If, however, linguistic knowledge has no relevance to, or use in, language teaching, then potentially any native English speaker who had general teaching ability and nothing more could teach his own language. Any such person could walk into a classroom and start teaching English. He would be able to choose what to teach and when to teach it, and he would know how to present and practise it. Merely to state the proposition in this form is to show its absurdity, and yet even now inherent in much teacher-training is the assumption that, given the ability to perform in the language, all that is needed to turn out a language-teacher is a training in what we may call general pedagogics, just as it was assumed that all one needed to teach mathematics or history was a knowledge of these subjects and a training as a teacher. Even if this were true of these subjects, and I believe recent developments would refute it, it has certainly never been true of language teaching. The reason for this lies in the nature of language as a universal feature of human behaviour. The same cannot be said of mathematics or history. These, if they are to be regarded as behaviour at all, are certainly behaviour of a different sort, and are certainly not universal in the sense that language is. Furthermore, teaching them is largely carried out through the medium of language. In language teaching we have the peculiar situation in which the teaching of behaviour must take place through the medium of what is being taught.

The problem reduces itself ultimately to the question of the difference between 'knowing' a language and 'knowing' history. This has been described by some philosophers as the difference between 'performative' knowledge and 'cognitive' knowledge. What the relationship between these is in psychological terms is something we should all like to know, particularly language-teachers. When we 'know' history we are able to talk coherently and systematically about it; to do this we must achieve a set of interrelated concepts. When we 'know' a language, on the other hand, we do not necessarily have the ability to talk systematically about it. Teachers of languages must obviously possess a 'performative' knowledge of the language they teach.

But one can also have a cognitive knowledge of the language. This is the sort of knowledge a linguist has of a language, whether he can speak it or not. I have already suggested that a teacher must also possess some cognitive knowledge of the language in order to teach it. The job of language teaching is getting the learner to develop a performative knowledge of the language through the intermediary of both the performative and cognitive knowledge of the teacher.

Nevertheless, we all know of cases where teachers untrained in language teaching have had to teach a language. Quite frequently they have achieved some measure of success. How might this have been so? The answer is twofold: first, it is certain that, as educated people, they did have some cognitive knowledge of the language; but secondly, and more importantly, such teachers would have had a text-book to work with. This means that they were able to rely upon, or supplement their own knowledge from, the author's cognitive knowledge of the language, together with all that the author would have learnt as a practical teacher.

A text-book embodies the major part of the linguistic contribution to language teaching. In its preparation many decisions have to be made, by no means all of them are directly linguistic, since they have to do with the learner, the educational system and the objectives of the course. But the actual work of writing the text-book after these decisions have been made is linguistic. This does not mean that the book will bristle with the technical terminology of linguistics; after all, the terminal behaviour of a language course is not a cognitive knowledge of the language (although for some learners in some circumstances some such knowledge may be useful and necessary as a means to achieving a performative knowledge). Indeed, it is a welcome feature of most modern text-books that they are not overloaded with technical terminology. But we should be deceiving ourselves if we imagined, as some seem to, that the linguistic contribution to a text-book is measured by the amount of linguistic terminology it contains. A well-designed substitution chart, for instance, may have no technical explanations for the pupil and yet be proof of considerable linguistic sophistication in its author.

A text-book undoubtedly serves for the majority of teachers as the syllabus for the language course; few teachers yet feel able to devise a syllabus for themselves. But what are the con-

lar teaching situation, to teach the 'whole of a language' to any particular set of students. As an aim, this is impossible to realise, not only because no native speaker would claim to know the whole of his mother tongue, but because the concept of the 'whole of a language' is probably not definable. To talk about a language, say English, is to talk about an abstraction. It is an abstraction from all the utterances produced by native speakers. It can, in the first instance, be described in terms of a set of 'rules' for producing English sentences. But the knowledge of the rules does not tell us which rules are to be applied in which set of circumstances. This is the field of semantics, or the study of meaning. Linguists may one day be able to state the semantic rules of a language which govern the choice of structural rules in a particular situation, but they cannot do so yet. The teaching of the semantic rules would be what we should call the teaching of meaning; but more of this later.

An alternative and, for the moment, more useful way of thinking of 'English' is that it is made up of a number of sub-languages or varieties. What the native speaker speaks or writes on any particular occasion is a particular variety of his language, appropriate to that situation. The descriptive categories for talking about the situation are a matter of sociology or psychology, but the description of the variety chosen is, of course, a matter of linguistics. When we teach a learner a language, what we are doing is to prepare him to behave appropriately in a number of English-speaking situations, public or private, formal or informal, technical or everyday, in one part of the world or another, in writing or in speech. This, to repeat the current jargon, is the terminal behaviour we are aiming at. I have already suggested that the tendency in language teaching at the present time is towards more closely defined aims in terms of the competence of our pupils. This competence is describable in linguistic terms.

There was a time when the terminal behaviour was described in terms of raw frequencies, i.e. so many of the commonest words in the language by a certain stage in the course; or so many grammatical patterns or 'structures' at the same stage. This type of description and the aims it implies were a great advance on what was previously available as a description of terminal behaviour. It showed awareness that the language knowledge aimed at could be described in linguistic terms

rather than in vague behavioural terms like 'the ability to read Literature in the language', 'to converse freely with native speakers', or 'to ask questions in English and answer them'.

It suffered, however, from two serious defects. First, it could not achieve a useful degree of precision about the nature of the unit it was counting, i.e. 'words', and 'structures'; and secondly, it did not take into account the fact that the probability of occurrence of a 'word' or a 'structure' varied from situation to situation of language use.

To deal with the first defect. The determination of the unit 'structure' or 'word' was not made according to any sound linguistic principle (according to any particular coherent theory). Formal linguistic studies are largely concerned with this matter: the determination of the units of the language, their constitution and their classification. Classification as an operation in any circumstances is a question of deciding what is the 'same' and what 'different'. As applied to language it is a matter of determining in respect of which features a linguistic unit is the same as or different from another of a similar sort. Any two units of a language may be simultaneously similar in one respect, and different in another. For example, the sentences *He is reading a letter* and *He is writing a letter* cannot be distinguished from each other at the level of grammar, but are distinct lexically. *He is writing a letter* and *Is he writing a letter?* are identical lexically, but are both the 'same' and 'different' at the same time in terms of grammar. They are both indicative, transitive sentences, but one is, of course, interrogative and the other declarative. Do these therefore count as two 'structures' or as one in our frequency counts? The linguist would merely enumerate the features any sentence has. He might do this in gross terms, like indicative, transitive, past, definite subject, perfective aspect, etc. This is a far cry from the now 'traditional' notion of 'structure'. The linguist, as linguist, cannot tell the teacher what are the important and what are the less important features of a sentence. These are essentially applied judgements, i.e. important for something—in this case teaching and learning the language. It is clear therefore that the teaching description of the terminal behaviour is a matter for collaboration between linguist and teacher. *Neither* can do the work satisfactorily alone. This is what we mean by *applied linguistics*: collaboration between a linguist and a specialist in another field, in this case

a language-teacher. If the teacher is also a linguist, so much the better: what he then *does* is applied linguistics. One of the objects of advanced study for experienced teachers is to enable them to engage in applied linguistics.

The second defect in the method of describing the linguistic aims of language teaching in terms of the teaching of the 'most frequent' 'words' and 'structures' is quite different. The commonness, or relative frequency, of a 'word' or 'structure', however determined, used to be calculated, as far as it could be (and this was not very far), in relation to the language 'as a whole'. Since it is obviously impracticable to take the 'whole' of a language as one's data for this purpose, some form of sample must be selected. This sample must be representative of the language 'as a whole'. But since we know that the form of language varies according to the circumstances in which it occurs, we are forced to start the operation by classifying the circumstances in some way or other, and giving each some sort of weighting according to its importance, judged in relation to the needs of the learner. There are, of course, considerable technical problems in collecting spoken language data in most situations, even if we could specify which were the important ones. Consequently, frequency counts of vocabulary and grammatical items have been based upon written language to a large extent, until fairly recently. But no one would now be satisfied that the written language is in any useful way statistically representative of the language 'as a whole', let alone of the spoken language. It is only fair to say that many of those who engaged in frequency counting were well aware that there are manifest gross differences in the frequency of linguistic features in spoken and written language, and, of course, also in the different varieties of written material. But even at their most refined these techniques did not sufficiently take into account the fact that the uses learners have for the second language are likely to be very much more restricted than those of a native speaker, and that therefore the frequency of 'words' and 'structures' should only be calculated on the basis of those language varieties that the learner is going to use, e.g. scientific, written, formal, standard, etc. To describe the terminal behaviour of the learner or group of learners in quantitative terms, the needs of the learner must be determined. This is not the job of the linguist but of the teacher. So again we come back to the same point: the descrip-

tion of what the learner must know at the end of his course is a matter for collaboration between linguist and teacher, a matter of applied linguistics.

At the end of all this work: the choice of language varieties to be taught, the analysis and description of the varieties, i.e. the statement of the features and frequency of these features in the corpus, we finish up with a list of linguistic items in the 'language to be taught'. This is the linguistic syllabus. It is not the teaching syllabus, because the items have then to be processed, a selection has to be made and the material has to be ordered into a programme. Here again the linguist has little to say. The decision about the ordering of the linguistic material is made largely on pedagogical grounds, only one of which might be regarded as falling within the scope of the linguist. These are considerations of complexity, teachability and utility. The linguist might have something to say about complexity. He might say, for instance, that we should logically proceed in our teaching of tenses from simple to compound, or that in English we should proceed from declarative to interrogative, from positive to negative, and from active to passive sentences, since all these moves require additional rules to be learnt. He might also maintain that simple sentences should be learnt before complex and complex before compound, again on the ground that these moves involve the learning of new processes. But when it comes to matters of teachability and utility which have to do with matters of motivation, method and other pedagogical principles, he has nothing to say. We are not concerned simply with teaching our pupils to emit sentences which are correct: we are teaching them to communicate. The teacher is concerned with creating situations which will encourage them to do this, even if it sometimes means ignoring the 'logic' of linguistic progression.

Let me sum up so far. Linguistic knowledge, that is, knowledge about language in general, and about a specific language, and consequently the ability to talk about it, has always been fundamental to language teaching. It has been, to a considerable extent, taken for granted, since it has always formed part of the normal education of an educated man in advanced societies. It is not possible to imagine that any systematic preparation of materials for teaching could be undertaken without it, unless we restrict what we mean by language teaching simply

to the activities of the teacher with the text-book in his hand. It is suggested that the considerable development in linguistic studies in this century provides the means to do this work better and to understand better what others have done, by offering more rigorously defined categories and more detailed and complete descriptions of the operation of a language and of its varieties. Linguistics is now developing techniques to provide a scheme of description which goes beneath the surface form of language and enables us to gain an insight into what a person must 'know' in order to speak a language, and therefore what failures in knowledge account for his errors.

Linguistics has, as I have tried to show, largely to do with *what* we teach. It has less to say directly about *how* we teach. It is, of course, true that theories about learning, and particularly about language learning, are more concerned with this, and it is perhaps to them that we must turn for descriptions and explanations of how we learn languages. But this does not mean that linguistics must be wholly silent on the subject.

I have already said that we are not solely concerned with teaching our pupils to emit sentences which are correct, i.e. part of the language. We teach languages so that our pupils may communicate. Language is not just noise: it is patterned behaviour expressed in sound. It has meaning. Now the linguist is very much concerned with meaning. It would be difficult to find any reason for studying language at all unless it had meaning. In fact all the linguists' studies have the ultimate purpose of elucidating the meaning of language.

In general terms, meaning is a question of relationships; these may be internal relationships between parts of the language or relationships between language events and non-language events, the world outside language. There are many theories about meaning, but all are at least in agreement on this point. The same basic idea has in its simplest form often been expressed by the language-teacher as a matter of establishing associations between words and things in the objective world, and has given rise to techniques of teaching which are part of the Direct Method, Ostensive Method or Situational Method. All these approaches have this virtue in common: that they recognise that meaning is something to be taught deliberately, and cannot be expected to look after itself. Of course, meaning can be taught by translation. By doing it in this way we are not

denying that meaning resides in the relationship between language and non-language events, but simply making use of such relationships as have already been established in the mother tongue of the learner. There are no *linguistic* reasons why teaching meaning by this means is necessarily less effective than by direct associations. The objections to it have to do with the way the external world is related to language in different cultures. It is, therefore, a matter for investigation by the sociolinguist. There may, however, be pedagogical reasons against the use of translation as a means of teaching. It may be that we do not yet know how to do so effectively, or in which circumstances it is most appropriate. What we must not do (and it is frequently done) is to confuse the *teaching of meaning* by translation techniques with the *teaching of language* by the 'Translation Method'.

Our knowledge of the external world comes to us in the first place through our senses, as Comenius insisted centuries ago, and Aristotle before him. If we wish our students to make connections between language and the external world, then we must present all the relevant features of the external world to their senses during the teaching process. If we except the information about the world which comes to us through language itself, then probably sight is the main sense through which we learn about the world. Teachers sometimes accept visual methods of teaching language as desirable because they have shown themselves to be desirable in the teaching of other subjects. But the justification for visual methods in language teaching is not principally that they are a motivating factor towards learning in general (which they may well be), but because they are one way, and possibly the best way, of teaching the meaning of language, at least in the earlier stages. Beyond this we cannot go at the moment for lack of a developed semantic theory in linguistics. The linguist cannot yet show exactly what these relationships are, or how they can be spoken about systematically, nor can the psychologist or the sociologist.

The initial training for teaching has always, and rightly, included a major element of observation and practice. Learning the practical activity of teaching a language shares this in common with the learning of the practical activity of using a language: both are probably best learnt by watching and performing, rather than listening to someone talking about the

activity. To imagine that we teach someone how to teach solely by lecturing him in methodology is the equivalent of imagining that we can teach someone to speak and understand a language by giving him a course in the linguistic description of the language. So long as the activities of teaching were carried on, or believed to be carried on, solely within the four walls of the classroom, then observation and practice took place in the classroom. However, as we have already insisted, teaching is nowadays less and less confined to what goes on in the classroom. The preparation of materials for the classroom—texts, tapes, syllabuses, pictures—is part of teaching; furthermore the introduction of electro-mechanical teaching equipment has begun to displace, to a certain extent, the point of active teaching from the classroom to the TV studio, the recording studio, or the film studio. The decisions about method are more and more being made outside the classroom, and the place for observation and practice moves with them. The methodology of these new media is something which the classroom teacher has normally had little opportunity to study—certainly he is unlikely to have had any training in them in his period of initial training. They involve the possession of equipment and opportunities for practice and experiment which are far from widespread yet in the ordinary school, and in some cases never will be. And yet as the use of these vehicles of teaching increases, as surely it will for reasons of economy if not of effectiveness, the need for people competent in the methodology of their use, and in the production of materials for them, will increase too. This means study; but study of a practical sort. It means observation and practice analogous to the observation and practice of classroom techniques in initial training. This, then, is the second aspect of advanced study for the experienced teacher, the practical aspect.

We can now see that there are opportunities for a synthesis in advanced study, not available in initial training by its very nature, between the fruitful experience in the classroom, the theoretical study of the relevant academic disciplines, and the practical study of the methods connected with the new mechanical aids. There will be little of the prescriptive lecturing about the methodology of the new media. The student, having a profounder understanding of language and how it is learnt, will discover for himself through practice the ways of teaching by means of these new techniques, as well, we hope, as discovering

for himself the justification and explanation of the methods he has been using in the classroom for many years.

On page 71 it was suggested that an experienced teacher would be under no illusions that there was a single right answer to the problem of language teaching. Indeed it sometimes looks as if we make no progress in teaching language more effectively. If this is to some extent true, it is because of the great difficulty there has always been in educational research in showing that one procedure in teaching is more effective than another. How then are we to overcome this difficulty of discovering more efficient teaching methods? If we consider teaching, and particularly language teaching, primarily as the creating of the conditions for effective learning, then the first attack on the problem will be by obtaining a better understanding of how people learn, particularly languages, what strategies they adopt to acquire a 'knowledge' of the language from the data presented to them, and the practice activities arranged for them. A renewed effort is now being made to attack this fundamental problem, particularly in relation to the child's acquisition of his mother tongue. It has yet to be shown what similarities and differences there are between this learning task and the acquisition of a second language.

An alternative, and for the immediate future a more promising, attack on the problem of improving teaching techniques is through the systematic evaluation of existing methods: that is, by showing that as a result of using one technique the learner learns better or more quickly what he is meant to learn. For this we need reliable ways of measuring language learning. To this end much work has been done in developing objective testing methods to measure language attainment and proficiency. The general principles underlying such tests, the techniques used to apply them and the statistical procedures for interpreting the results are similar to those in use for other psychometric tests, such as those for intelligence. An understanding of these techniques now forms part of the initial training of most teachers. However, devising language-proficiency tests does present peculiar problems which differ signally from those presented by other psychometric tests. The reasons for this are the same as the reasons for considering language teaching as a specialised technical operation, namely, that in this case, we use language to test *language*, and not as in

other testing procedures non-language *knowledge* or skills such as personality, intelligence or a knowledge of science. This calls for special abilities and knowledge which certainly require the study of both linguistics and psychology. Furthermore, and for the same reasons, the criteria for the validation of the language tests also present special difficulties. The validation of an intelligence test, for example, may be achieved by correlating the results of the test with the subject's performance in his general academic work. Language proficiency does not appear to correspond to proficiency in any non-linguistic activity. The validation of an objective language test must therefore be achieved ultimately by its correlation with subjective judgements of the learner's verbal knowledge, such as that provided by a conventional language examination. Furthermore, there is reason to suppose that linguistic competence is not a single uniform thing, but a composite set of skills and knowledge which may develop differentially in different people. A general test of proficiency must ensure that all components of linguistic competence are tested.

Finally, linguistic knowledge and ability cannot be wholly separated from other knowledge; that is to say, a person's linguistic ability is to some extent an expression of his general knowledge, and his cultural and personal development. A test of language proficiency, therefore, may also be at the same time a test of a person's development and personality.

An understanding of these problems is clearly a proper part of advanced study for experienced teachers. However, the use they may make of the knowledge and skills of testing will be various. They may need simply to know about tests and their interpretation, if they have not already learnt about them in their initial training; they may need to be able to administer tests and interpret the results they produce; on the other hand, they may need to construct language tests. For this they will need to know the principles of test construction and the statistical concepts underlying the interpretation of their results. And finally, a few students may become involved in research. For them the most thoroughgoing study of the theory of testing is a necessity, involving an understanding of the concepts of validity, reliability, standardisation, significance, and such procedures as item analysis, factorial analysis, inter-test correlation, and analysis of variance.

Let me here hasten to add that I do not wish to imply that the object of advanced study is the training of research workers. Only a minority of experienced teachers will wish to enter this field, and only a few will be temperamentally suited to it. The fact remains, however, that there is a need in university departments for research workers who have experience of classroom teaching.

Now that I have introduced the subject of research, it is necessary to consider what part it may play in advanced study. Research has its own theories and techniques which must be learnt. It requires an attitude to data, methods of working and an ability to interpret and evaluate the significance of results which are not normally learnt in initial training. In language teaching only a limited amount of research can be done in the laboratory, and this is, generally speaking, basic research in psycho-linguistics. Most of the data about language learning come from the classroom, since this is where learning takes place. This is the province of the teacher. Large-scale research into language teaching requires the cooperation of classroom teachers, headmasters and directors of education. These are precisely the sorts of positions which the experienced teacher is expected to fill as he advances in his career. It is clearly desirable, therefore, that he should have an understanding not only of the relevance of research to language teaching in general, and to his own situation in particular, but also be able to interpret the results of research and know when any problem he may meet may be susceptible of a solution by research methods.

The second reason for the advanced student to engage in some research work, however restricted in scope, is that by doing so he will be called upon to make practical application of his theoretical studies in linguistics, psychology and sociology. Research work can thus be seen as a practical exercise.

To sum up, research is viewed as an exercise for the advanced student; it gives him a means of interpreting and evaluating the investigations of others as they may affect him in his later professional career. It will also enable him to be sympathetic to, to understand and to cooperate with, research workers who will seek his help when he returns to take up his professional duties again. I shall here repeat what was said earlier: language teaching can only develop and advance by using the findings of

research. For this to happen those who bear a primary responsibility for policy must be open to new ideas. But being open to new ideas is not enough. They must be able to understand and evaluate them. Only in this way will knowledge replace dogma and directed progress replace the largely empirical course of language teaching with which we are all familiar.

Before summing up this general discussion in the form of a specific programme for advanced study, let me say that these suggestions have not been conjured up out of thin air by theory-oriented academics. For a decade work has been going on on the development of such courses of advanced study in a number of centres. These courses have undergone continuous revision during that time, partly in response to the mounting mass of material gained from research work, partly as a result of the remarkable developments in linguistic theory in the same period, but largely as a result of what has been learned through working with experienced teachers who have undertaken advanced study. Unlike the undergraduate student who is scarcely in a position to be critical of what he is given in his degree course, the advanced student, by virtue of his maturity and of his practical experience, can usually judge fairly shrewdly what is and what is not relevant to him in his profession. But things have not stood still in the world of language teaching. The results of research *are* finding their way into practice and the language-teacher is becoming aware that there may be some relevance to him in theoretical studies in linguistics, psychology and sociology. What, therefore, the advanced student sought ten years ago is not the same as he demands today. The educational and technological changes referred to in my opening paragraph have not ceased abruptly. One has only to think of the rapid spread in the use of the language laboratory, programmed instruction and television in language teaching during the same period to be aware of the facts. A programme of advanced study ten years ago would scarcely have touched on these matters. So the sort of programme one proposes to meet the needs of the experienced teacher of today will certainly not meet his demands in ten years' time. One hopes that programmes of advanced study will not have been the least contributing factor to this state of affairs. Just as there is no one final answer to all the programmes of language teaching, there is no one final answer to the demands of the advanced student.

Finally, here in synoptic form is a programme for the type of advanced study which has been proposed in this chapter.

A. THEORETICAL STUDIES

These represent the fundamental studies underlying the descriptive and practical studies: logically they precede the latter. Since these studies cover fields of which the experienced teacher may have least knowledge, they will occupy a substantial part of the study time. They are all subjects in which there is a considerable literature, and they will be introduced in lectures followed by tutorial sessions.

(i) *The principles of language study*

A study of those aspects of linguistics and phonetics which form the theoretical background to the Descriptive and Practical studies.

(ii) *The psychology of learning*

This will be for many advanced students a continuation of work done in educational psychology in their initial training.

(iii) *The psychology of verbal behaviour*

(iv) *Socio-linguistics*

This course will deal only with those topics which are relevant to language teaching.

B. DESCRIPTIVE STUDIES

Here also there is a considerable literature, but descriptions of English deriving from the most recent theoretical work in linguistics are not yet readily available. Descriptive studies will be pursued in lecture and seminar, and in practical exercises in description.

(i) *The grammar of English*

(ii) *The phonology of English*

(iii) *The phonetics of English*

These three descriptive studies will be undertaken in a form which permits theoretical categories to be related to the teaching categories.

(iv) *Contrastive descriptions involving English and another language*

(v) *Varieties of English*

The study of the formal features which can be related to different language uses and situations, e.g. written, spoken, technical, regional.

C. PRACTICAL STUDIES

The field of practical studies is very large and it is not possible for all topics to be covered in a short period of study. Students will

have to select those which relate to their interests and needs, although some topics must be regarded as of sufficient general relevance to be studied by all students. All practical studies presuppose adequate preparation in theory and description. These studies will be done in small classes and tutorial groups and involve the writing of syllabus programmes, scripts, transcriptions, etc., by the student.

- (i) *Exercises in contrastive linguistic analysis*
- (ii) *Techniques of testing language aptitude and proficiency*
- (iii) *Techniques of programmed instruction in language teaching*
- (iv) *Syllabus analysis and construction*
- (v) *Techniques of literacy teaching*
- (vi) *Language laboratory techniques*
- (vii) *Ear-training and productive phonetic exercises*
- (viii) *Phonetic transcriptions*
- (ix) *Techniques of pronunciation teaching*

D. RESEARCH EXERCISE

This exercise is carried out under individual supervision.

E. STUDY OF EXISTING LANGUAGE TEACHING MATERIALS

This involves the inspection of text-books, language-laboratory tapes, audio-visual courses, television courses, language-teaching films, language tests, literacy-teaching materials, etc. This study will be conducted in seminar and tutorial discussion.

TEACHING PRACTICE

by A. S. Hornby

It seems right, at the beginning of this chapter, to set out certain assumptions and limitations. The chapter deals with teaching practice by those young men and women who are attending teachers' training colleges in preparation for the teaching of English as a foreign or second language. It deals with trainees whose teaching of English will be limited to the beginning stage, by which is meant the first two or three years of the language course. It deals with the requirements of teachers in countries in Africa, Asia and the Middle East, these being the areas best known to the writer. It is assumed that these trainees are not university graduates, and that they enter the training college after completing a secondary school course. The training of teachers in European countries would require different treatment, as most teachers of language in Europe are university graduates.

There are wide differences between the problems of language learning in European and non-European countries. In most European countries the mother tongue of the learner may belong to the same language family as English, and have a grammar system similar to that of English. It may have a vocabulary with many cognate words and with words borrowed from English. The alphabet will be familiar. Teachers will have the advantage of being in close touch with Great Britain and English-speaking people, through holiday visits, contacts with tourists, and easily received B.B.C. broadcasts. In other parts of the world the mother tongue of the learner is unlikely to have any relationship to English. Not all training colleges are able to employ instructors who have English as their mother tongue; most instructors, and almost all of the trainees, are likely to have little or no contact with native speakers of English. They have few opportunities of visiting Great Britain. They are unlikely to be as fluent in speech as language-teachers should be.

It is assumed that the English which the pupils of these trainees will learn is to establish a foundation for general pur-

poses. This beginning course will not be specifically designed for subsequent use in the study of science, technical subjects, or literature. It is only on a broad foundation that a specialised knowledge of English can be built up. It is unusual for young pupils to know, when they start to learn English, how their skills will be used in later years. For this reason it is assumed that the approach to the language teaching will be oral-aural, and that there will be a minimum of formal grammar. The pupils will learn to *use* the language and will not be taught much *about* it. For this reason the children are, throughout this chapter, referred to as *learners* or *pupils*, not as *students*.

In many countries in the parts of the world to which this chapter is limited, trainees come to the college with an inadequate knowledge of English. Much of the time in class has to be given to the raising of standards. Sufficient time, therefore, is not always available for such important subjects as linguistic methodology and linguistic science. There may be a tradition that English literature should have a prominent place in the curriculum. It is desirable that trainees should read widely in English, but it would be unfortunate if the English classics were to have first place for reasons of prestige, or because the college instructors, ruled by their own preferences or their own university work, should give the classics preference. Methodology must have priority.

It is desirable that trainees should be given some knowledge of linguistics, on condition that they are made to realise that an understanding of linguistic structure is no substitute for language proficiency. When these trainees come to teach their young pupils, their business is to help them to acquire new habits and skills. Among these will be the correct and unconscious use of the structural patterns of English. Teachers will benefit from familiarity with structural linguistics, but this is not a subject they will teach.

Teaching practice requires that the trainee should visit schools and give English lessons. In some countries there are training colleges (which may be known as Normal Schools) which have primary or elementary schools attached to them for this purpose. The regular language-teachers in these are usually well qualified by experience to help and advise the trainee who comes to their classes. In other countries the trainee may have his teaching practice in any of the schools in the town or district, and may be

accompanied by one of his own instructors. Whatever the system, it is essential that the trainee should be supervised by an experienced person who can give him advice and encouragement.

Before the trainee is required for the first time to face the ordeal of giving a lesson to a class of sceptical and perhaps unruly children (they will know that he is a beginner, and probably nervous), it will be wise to let him pay visits to classes in the neighbourhood, given by regular teachers who are known to be competent. He will attend as an observer, and should take notes of what he hears and sees. He may also attend some demonstration lessons given by his own instructor, so that he may see in practice the methods that are being recommended to him. This will give him confidence. It will have more value than further lectures on method. The trainee may also attend practice lessons given by his classmates, preferably those who have already done a year or two's work.

When the time comes for the trainee to begin his own teaching practice, planning is needed. First, there is the preparation for the lesson. Then there is the lesson itself. Thirdly, there is the discussion of the lesson, which we might call the post-mortem, if this did not suggest that the lesson was a disaster.

The preparation of the lesson must be thorough. Before the trainee can make his lesson-plan, he must be familiar not merely with the text (or 'Lesson') which is assigned to him, but with all the material that occurs in everything that precedes this text. Otherwise he may use vocabulary items, tenses, structures and other teaching items which have not yet been presented to the class. He should also know something of the ways in which these items have been presented, whether through the procedures which his own instructors recommend, or through other procedures such as translation and grammar, which we hope they do not recommend. He needs to know whether, in the school to which he will go, there are conservative or even reactionary teachers who may be unsympathetic and uncooperative.

The trainee is now able to go through the text assigned to him and discover which teaching items are new and therefore need special attention, and which items have been presented during recent weeks and will probably need further practice or recall. He must decide how to deal with the new items. Is this new word, for example, a 'structural' word needing careful presentation and thorough drills, or is it a 'content' word? (Briefly,

'content' words are the bricks and 'structural' words are the mortar holding them together in a sentence.) Or is the new word one of minor importance for which an equivalent in the language of the learners is enough? The trainee should be encouraged to consider these matters and present his conclusions to his instructor. There can then be a discussion in which the instructor gives the trainee the benefit of his own knowledge and experience. The instructor will probably need to give warnings against the temptation to talk *about* the language. A very young boy soon learns to tie a shoelace in a bow, but would almost certainly fail if asked to explain in words (no drawings or hand movements) *how* to tie such a bow. The young pupil can learn, if taught well, how to use a new language. He will not use it better by being given elaborate information about its structure.

The discussion of the lesson plan may be in private between the trainee and his instructor, or it may be with the whole class. There are many errors and faults that will become evident only when the trainee gives his lesson. Others, however, can be dealt with in advance, and it is clearly better to note and remedy them in advance. Here are some specimen errors in a lesson plan, and suggestions for dealing with them.

Let us suppose that in the text which the trainee is to take, there occurs a sentence in which an adjective is followed by a *to*-infinitive, for example, the sentence:

The first speaker was *difficult to understand*, but the second speaker was *easy to understand*.

The trainee tells his instructor that he proposes to present the new structure by talking in this way:

'Can you understand me? Am I easy or difficult to understand? Is this text easy to understand? Are all your teachers easy to understand or are some of them difficult to understand?'

This is a good approach, though it might be better to use a situation in which visual demonstration is possible, such as moving, or trying to move, a heavy piece of furniture (Is this table easy or difficult to move?, etc.). The trainee says that he will, after the oral work, write on the board other sentences in the same pattern. He produces specimens:

The house was *easy* to find.

The questions were *difficult* to answer.

This classroom is *pleasant* to work in.

This is useful and satisfactory. A bright trainee may next, and quite usefully, give the alternative pattern:

It was difficult to understand the first speaker, but easy to understand the second speaker.

He may then give, or ask for, similar transformations of the sentences on the board:

It was easy to find the house.

It was difficult to answer the questions.

It is pleasant to work in this classroom.

This type of transformation is good teaching. But the trainee *must* be aware of the type of adjective which can be used in this transformation. Perhaps he has included among his specimens on the board such sentences as these:

Our football team is *certain* to win.

Mary was *eager* to help.

The new servant was *anxious* to please.

We were *sorry* to hear of your illness.

A transformation of the first of these is possible only by using *that* (It is certain *that* our team will win), and no transformation using *it* is possible with the others. Not all training college instructors are familiar with transformational grammar, and those who are familiar with it are unlikely to have the time (and perhaps the ability) to deal with it. The instructor must always, however, be on the look-out for possible pitfalls of this kind. He must at once see them and warn against them. He must emphasise the importance, even the necessity, of testing every sentence to be used for transformation in class. This will save the trainee from the shaming experience, when facing a class of young pupils and critical onlookers, of having to say, 'Sorry, but this sentence won't do. We can't change this sentence by using *it* as the first word.'

By checking the sentences given above and then examining the adjectives, it is seen that *easy* and *difficult* can be used in the pattern with *it*, but that adjectives indicating a mental state (e.g. *sorry*, *glad*, *anxious*, *eager*, *afraid*) cannot be used in this pattern.

The importance of this advance testing is well known to most instructors and to authors of text-books. They know the danger of supplying sentences in the active voice to be converted into the passive voice. Young trainees are not so well aware of the risks. They will happily give the sentence 'John ate a big breakfast' and accept the answer 'A big breakfast was eaten by John'. This is not an acceptable answer. Trainees must have the habit of checking all sentences to be used in transformations of this kind.

Let us further suppose that the trainee, when giving the sentences above, utters them in a monotone, thus failing to make prominent, as he should do, the key words. His intonation, not only his knowledge of structures, is at fault.

The teacher must give a good model of spoken English. He must be heard clearly by the whole class. By using appropriate levels of pitch and changes of pitch, he can make prominent the key words in his statements and questions. He makes the statement:

'The first speaker was difficult to understand, but the second speaker was easy to understand.'

He may utter this statement with the correct consonant and vowel sounds, but has he made the contrast between *difficult* and *easy*? He can do this by change of pitch on the stressed syllables of these two words. There may be a fall in pitch on the first syllable of *difficult*, and another fall in pitch on the first syllable of *easy*. Or he may, to make the contrast even more marked, use a rise in pitch on the first syllable of *difficult*, continuing the rise to the end of *understand*, and a fall in pitch on the second syllable of *easy*. Either:

'The first speaker was 'difficult to understand, | but the second speaker was 'easy to understand.'

Or:

'The first speaker was ,difficult to understand, | but the second speaker was 'easy to understand.'

The second intonation pattern is needed for the alternative type of question:

'Am I ,easy to understand | or 'difficult to understand?'

Trainees should have good intonation, but there is also the need to consider voice production, as important for teachers as

for orators and singers. Classrooms may be large, and there may be forty or fifty children in a class. There may be a good deal of outside noise. If the back row is a long way from the teacher's desk, the teacher needs to make his voice carry well. He must not shout for this purpose (it is tiring physically as well as bad practice). His voice will carry well if he learns to use pitch well. In the question above, if he starts with a high level pitch on *am* (using, of course, the strong form [æm]), his voice will carry better than it would if he started with a low level pitch on *am*. There is a great difference in clarity between:

'æm ai:j:zi...?

and

əm ai:j:zi...?

This is not a minor point. Many trainees who speak clearly in the intimate atmosphere of a small group fail to produce their voices properly and to use intonation in the ways most likely to help comprehension when they stand before a large class. So this matter, dealt with here so briefly, must have attention during this advance discussion of the lesson plan.

The type of pronunciation used by the trainee when he gives his practice lesson raises questions which are perhaps outside the scope of this chapter. It does, however, need some consideration. In many countries in Africa and Asia, especially the independent Commonwealth countries, English is still a *lingua franca* and has great importance. In some of these areas a regional pronunciation is used which is, in some cases, a long way from the 'Received Pronunciation' which is described in most *British text-books on phonetics and used for phonetic transcriptions in dictionaries*. No one outside these areas has the right to make decisions about the type of pronunciation to be taught in the schools of these areas. It is not unreasonable, however, to recommend a form that will be readily comprehensible for international communication. Instructors should see that their trainees, when having teaching practice, use such a form and avoid any form with too many features of the established local or regional pronunciation of English. In Great Britain 'Received Pronunciation' has become widely known through radio and television. It is accepted as a *desirable form*, even though the British class structure causes sections of the population to resent it. It is not because R.P. has prestige value

that young learners abroad should have opportunities of hearing and learning to use R.P. They will hear it, in later years, if they go to Great Britain for further study or, as officials, attend conferences in any part of the world—a meeting at UNO in New York or of the Afro-Asian States at Addis Ababa. It is not unusual for Indians and Pakistanis, when they meet Africans in Great Britain, to experience some difficulty in understanding one another when they converse in English, even though they have had, in their own countries, many years of English up to university level. *Insistence on reasonable proximity to a pronunciation internationally intelligible is sensible for practical and functional reasons.* If, outside the classroom, the trainees use their regional variant, this need not cause concern. The same thing happens in Great Britain. Many of our children speak one kind of English in school and a regional variant or dialect when they get outside the school gates.

The good and bad points of the trainee's lesson plan can be seen most clearly when the lesson is given. So after the preliminary discussion, the trainee may be asked to give his lesson to his fellow trainees, his classmates. This is not a realistic procedure, of course; his classmates know much more English than the young children to whom the lesson will be given later. But a trainee nurse sometimes practises on a wooden leg before she is allowed to put a leg of flesh and bone into plaster of Paris. The trainee's lesson to his classmates is useful because the instructor can spot faulty procedures before they can be used in the classroom. If, for example, the trainee takes a disproportionate share of the time given to oral work, this can be pointed out. In a well-planned lesson period the pupils should, after the presentation of new material, have a larger share of the 'speaking time' than the teacher. It is the pupils who are learning to speak English, and this ability can come only from speaking, not from passive listening.

Lectures on methodology should have made this clear, but a young teacher does not always resist the temptation to hear himself talk. The trainee must be told that his business is not to monopolise the 'speaking' part of the lesson period but to guide and direct. He is like the conductor of an orchestra, with the pupils as his players. An example is again a useful way of illustrating a wrong procedure and of how the instructor may demonstrate a better procedure.

Let us assume that in the text for the lesson there occurs for the first time the verb pattern *give (show, lend) something to somebody*. The class is already familiar with the pattern *give (show, lend) somebody something*. When presenting a new pattern we start from the familiar and proceed from this to the new and the unfamiliar. Presentation of a new item should have as its point of departure something already mastered. If, therefore, the trainee proposes to talk *about* the new pattern, perhaps with a group of model sentences on the board as an aid, he must be checked. He must be warned to start from the pattern for *give* that is already familiar. The instructor may demonstrate and then require the trainee to follow the same procedure. He starts perhaps in this way:

'Here's a picture. I'm going to show *A* the picture. Now I'm going to show *B* the picture. Now I'm going to show *you* the picture.' (*He walks round the class, showing the picture to the trainees in turn. Then he puts questions.*)

'What did I do, a minute or two ago? I showed *A* the picture. Then I showed *B* the picture' (etc.).

This has demonstrated the pattern already familiar to the pupils in the class which the trainee is to teach. The instructor now demonstrates the new pattern, and does so in a way that illustrates the difference:

'I'm showing *you* the picture. Now I'm going to show it to the man sitting behind you. Now I'm showing it to the man sitting on your left. Now I'm showing it to the man on your right.'

The instructor may continue with the verb *give*, and require the trainees to share in the activities:

'I'm going to show you the picture again. I'm going to give *A* the picture. *A*, take it. Now give it to the man sitting behind you. *B*, show the picture to the man on your left. Now give it to the man on your right.'

What the instructor has done in these demonstrations is to present the patterns in sequence and in classroom situations involving activity. The demonstrations show that in the pattern *show (give) somebody something*, the 'somebody' is normally indicated by a name or a personal pronoun, and that, in the pattern

show (give) something to somebody, the 'somebody' is more likely to be indicated by a string of words of some length ('the man sitting behind you', etc.). Or, to use traditional grammatical terminology, the object of the preposition *to* is likely to be longer (or heavier) than the direct object.

The instructor may now repeat his sequences with questions put to the trainees, so that they themselves use the new patterns in appropriate ways, that is, so that the heavier of the two 'objects' (direct and indirect) comes last. For example:

'What has *A* done?' (He's given *B* the picture.) 'What has *B* just done?' (He's given it to the man sitting near the window.)

The trainees are certainly familiar with both patterns, but were, perhaps, before this demonstration, unfamiliar with procedures useful for illustrating how the choice between the two patterns is made.

Finally, the instructor tells the trainees to carry out these and similar activities, making statements of intention ('I'm going to...') and putting questions to their classmates ('What did you (*or he, etc.*) do?'). The trainees are now doing all the oral work and the instructor is observing and listening.

This outline of the demonstration (it would be much longer in the teaching practice, to be given later) shows the trainee two points: first, how to present the new pattern for *show* and *give*, and then how to cause a class of pupils, after this presentation, to have the larger share of the 'talking time'. The pupils should, in the end, do far more oral work than the teacher. It is not 'conversation', of course, at this stage. It is controlled oral work aimed at mastery of patterns. The procedures show that patterns and structures can be presented in association with classroom situations. Young pupils are likely to learn well if they are busy *doing* things about which they are talking, or if they are looking at pictures of activities about which they are talking. The substitution table, or a dozen or so model sentences set out in a frame, are valuable aids, but they should follow the presentation linked to activity. Here is a specimen of sentences to be written on the board *after* the oral presentation:

Tom: Please lend me your dictionary.

Harry: No, Tom, I don't lend my dictionary to boys who have dirty fingers.

The trainees may themselves have been taught through the procedures outlined here. One hopes that they were. There is a *difference, however, between being taught and teaching*, so it is desirable that the trainees should have such procedures demonstrated to them, so that they may themselves use them, before they take their practice lessons. The training college has a lecturer on methodology, and he has probably talked about the points so far dealt with. But *lectures are not a substitute for practice*. When a trainee takes his first lesson outside the college he may easily make the mistake (common among teachers in service as well as among teachers in training) of taking the lion's share of the oral work.

What other errors are likely to show up during the rehearsal of a lesson? We have all seen the teacher who asks a question, gets no answers, or only hesitating or incorrect answers, and *ends up by becoming impatient or even losing his temper*. He repeats his question a dozen times and is, at the end, giving a thoroughly bad model of rhythm and intonation. He may, for example, when asking questions about a story in the text, ask the question 'Where did the boy go?' in this way:

'Where | 'did | the 'boy | 'go?

with a fall in pitch on each stressed word and a pause after each of them. He is behaving as foolishly as the Englishman who thinks he can help a foreign visitor to understand him by speaking loudly one word at a time. If a whole class is unable to produce the required answer to a question, the fault lies with the teacher. There are slow, even dull and stupid, pupils in *most classes*, but *there are no classes in which all the pupils are slow or dull*. There has been, in cases like this, inadequate preparation.

The instructor must tell his trainees how to recognise danger signals such as this failure to get an answer to a repeated question. He must give warnings against impatience, and point out the disastrous effect that impatient repetition can have. A training college will have on its staff a specialist in phonetics and intonation. One hopes that he will have told the trainees that good rhythm and intonation have a greater part in achieving intelligibility than ability to produce the sounds of English, important though this is. *Opportunities for dealing with faults in rhythm, stress, intonation and sounds will occur*

when the trainee rehearses his lesson with his classmates. Time given to this will be well spent.

But more than this correction of faulty utterance is possible. The trainee can be told how to deal with a class in which not one pupil is able to answer what seems (to the impatient teacher) a simple question. Let us return to our example (the question 'Where did the boy go?') which the teacher repeated so often that finally he was uttering it in a series of jerks. The solution is to reframe the question in a different form. The pupils may need nothing more than the recall of the situation. 'Did the boy go to the seaside or to the mountains?' This may elicit an answer. If not, the teacher may change to 'Yes' or 'No' questions and answer them himself:

Did the boy go to the seaside? No, he didn't. Did he go to the mountains? Yes, he did.

Then he will put his alternative question, and then his question with 'Where'. He has not become impatient. He has not caused his pupils to feel that they are slow. He has helped them to feel that they are able to answer.

Let us consider another possibility of giving useful advice to trainees during a rehearsal lesson. A teachers' training college is usually in a town of some size, and in such a town the school to which the trainee goes for practice lessons is likely to be better built, better equipped, and better staffed than schools in rural areas. If, when the trainee finishes his course, he goes to a rural area, he will find teaching conditions different from those in the town school or schools where he has practised. He should be advised on how to deal with difficult or unexpected conditions. Such advice may well be given during the discussion of his lesson. The instructor might, for example, say something like this:

'You were giving a lesson to first-year pupils this morning. You gave a demonstration using the Present Progressive tense. You used the verbs *open* and *close*, and the noun *window*. It was a good demonstration. You opened and closed the window slowly, so your statements, questions and answers were made while you were opening and closing the window. Suppose you were in a village school where the classroom has no window—merely an opening in the wall for light and air? What would you do?'

One might answer that it is pedantic to suggest that an oblong but unglazed opening in a classroom wall is not a window. But *window* does suggest panes of glass in a movable frame. (How otherwise could one *break* a window?) When young learners first hear this word *window* they should associate it with glass. Language learning requires the formation of the appropriate associations between symbol and referent, and it is essential to have the right referents.

The trainee may come back quickly with the word *book*. His instructor may then ask him to demonstrate with *book*.

'I'm opening the book. Now I'm closing the book. Now I'm opening it again. What am I doing? I'm opening the book.'

If the trainee, while making these statements and asking and answering these questions, performs the actions in slow motion, the demonstration may pass as acceptable. But it is more difficult to continue the action of opening a book in the time needed for statements, questions and answers than it is to open a window and talk about the activities. Just as *window* has to be associated with glass and a movable frame of some kind, the Present Progressive (or Continuous) tense has to be associated (here) with activity in progress, activity that continues, during the whole of the time required for the statement, questions and answers, and perhaps beyond this time. It indicates activity that has a beginning and an end, and is contrasted with the Simple Present (as in 'I like apples') used for something which has no immediately foreseeable conclusion. If the time occupied by the activity is two or three seconds (ample time for opening a book, even in slow motion), and the trainee, after the completion of the action, goes on to ask and answer a question about his activity (or, worse still, puts questions to his pupils), he is at fault. (He could use the Present Perfect, or the Past, but this would be using a tense for which his beginners are not ready.)

This is an example of a type of error which is not infrequent, and which can easily be overlooked by an instructor who is not aware of the importance of close correspondence between activity and speech. An experienced teacher will tell his trainee to choose an activity which can be extended over an adequate period of time, perhaps *walk*, *go* and *stand*. (Standing is hardly an activity, which serves to illustrate the inadequacy of a common definition of *verb* as 'the name of an activity'.)

This may seem elementary, but points that seem obvious to an experienced teacher are not always seen by a beginner. I have seen young trainees happily putting to a succession of pupils such questions as 'What am I giving John?' when the action of giving was performed only once, two or three minutes earlier. If *give* is to be used, the teacher needs a container (a box or a bag) with a very large number of articles, for example, buttons, keys, small stones, which he can continue to hand out during the complete sequence of statements, questions and answers. The advice given by the instructor on the presentation of a new tense may often be made more useful by suggestions about the kind of classroom aids suitable for use in schools where conditions are primitive and where the aids found in town schools are not available. Skill in improvisation is necessary for the teacher sent out to, say, a rural school in Africa where conditions are difficult and there is no money for the equipment that so many books on education take for granted.

Let us consider another point. Perhaps the trainee, during his lesson, identifies new words by giving other words which he considers to be synonyms. He will try to do this if he has been told to use the mother tongue of his pupils as little as possible, or if he is in a school where the pupils speak two or more vernaculars. He has examined the vocabulary items already 'known' by pupils in his class, and sees that *small* is one of them. (They have probably had 'small letters' and 'capital letters', 'a small box' and 'a large box'.) In the new reading-text there occurs the word *little*, and the Teacher's Companion tells him that this is the first occurrence of this word. (The listing of new words is, we hope, one of the features of all such Companions or Handbooks.) The text, perhaps, is a story about 'a hungry little boy'. He tells his class that *little* is another word for *small*, and writes the two words on the board: *little* = *small*.

What does the instructor do here? He knows, or should know, that there are very few real synonyms in English. He has to make his trainees realise this. He may talk about the stylistic values of words, their connotations, their emotional overtones, and give examples such as *enemy* and *foe*, *buy* and *purchase*. But the discussion of a rehearsal lesson is not the right time for lectures. The instructor will do better if he asks whether the term 'small letters' (contrasted with 'capital letters') can be replaced by 'little letters', whether 'a naughty small boy' and

'a hungry small girl' seem as right as 'a naughty little boy' and 'a hungry little girl'. It is the associations again that are important. The native speaker of English has unconscious associations between *little* and adjectives (or situations) indicating feeling and attitude. (We are not concerned here with *little*, the determinative, or *little*, the adverb.) *Small* is neutral, unemotive.

The instructor may perhaps say a few words (but not give a lecture) on the emotional overtones linked with *little*. But his best way to help the trainee will be more practical. He may produce some pictures and talk about them.

'Look, this is a house. It's a small house, isn't it? And what a pretty little garden!'

'Look at this picture—a boy and a girl. They're both small. Is the boy fat or thin? He's a fat little boy. Is the girl fat, too? No, she's a thin little girl.'

Small occurred first, but when the descriptions were added to by the use of *pretty*, *fat* and *thin*, the adjective *small* was replaced by *little*. It is the context or situation that governs the choice between *small* and *little*, and teachers can help pupils to form the necessary associations by providing examples, not by saying that the two words are 'nearly the same'.

Trainees (and some teachers whose training is many years behind them) may have the habit of using English words and phrases, in incidental statements, that are unknown to their pupils. This may be good practice. We hear, when we are learning our mother tongue, hundreds of words of which we do not know the meaning. It is by hearing them used that we gradually come to identify them, to acquire the necessary associations. But the teacher of a foreign language must be aware of possible pitfalls. *Too* and *very* are not synonyms, though in Arabic and in some West African vernaculars they are not clearly differentiated. If the young teacher goes into the classroom on a hot day and exclaims 'Oh, it's hot today!', this is safe and useful. If he exclaims 'Oh, it's too hot!', he is saying something that a native speaker of English might say. If, however, in the vernacular of his pupils, there is no clear distinction between *too* and *very*, he may lead them to suppose that there is no distinction between *too* and *very* in English.

The instructor must again help. He may explain the difference (if he knows how to), but a better procedure will be to demon-

strate first, and later say a few words about patterns. He may talk in this way:

'This table's heavy, very heavy. It's too heavy to lift. Are you heavy, Peter? No, I can lift you. You're not too heavy for me to lift.'

The instructor must not be afraid of being considered repetitive. Repetition is essential in language teaching. *Too*, adverb of degree, is to be associated first with infinitives (*too heavy to lift, too hot to drink, etc.*), and later with *for* and infinitives (*too heavy for me to lift, too high for you to reach, etc.*). If this link is not formed, our young Arabic-speaking and some of our West African children will make mistakes. There is (or used to be) an unfortunate roadside advertisement in Ghana: 'XYZ petrol is too good.'

The instructor may usefully give his warning against synonyms. He may then advise the trainee that it is quite useful to give antonyms, or opposites. Every language-teacher, every language course, presents binary contrasts such as *yes* and *no*, *large* and *small*, *wide* and *narrow*, *on* and *off*, *in* and *out*, *into* and *out of*. These contrasts are still another example of associations. We associate *large* with *small*, *hot* with *cold*, and *warm* with *cool*. A trainee may think it useful (and it may be useful, of course, in the later stages) to give a 'lesson' on affixes and derivatives, for example by writing on the board, with *happy* as his starting point, the words *(un)happy*, *(un)happily* and *(un)happiness*. During the beginning stage this kind of 'word family' is much less useful than pairs of opposites. If, in a text, only one of a pair occurs, the teacher may present the second, even if it is 'new'. The pair will be useful in oral work, especially in the alternative question. The most useful kind of 'word family' is not that made up of derivatives or the use of affixes. It is the pair or group of words that naturally go together in dealing with a situation, or a classroom activity. Binary contrasts are an example. The trainee must know which of such contrasting pairs is 'unmarked' (neutral) and which is the 'marked' member. These binary contrasts are dealt with in books on linguistics and it should be the business of compilers of syllabuses and of textbook writers to see that the 'unmarked' member is presented first, so that the learner hears them in questions. 'How large (heavy, high, tall, old, wide)', not 'How small (light, low, short,

young, narrow') is what we say and expect to hear in questions, and this is how the trainee must first present these unmarked members. When the unmarked member has been learnt, the marked member must be presented quickly so that the two are linked. The learner first hears *old* in statements, then in questions ('How old is. . .?'), and then with its antonym in an alternative question ('Is this a picture of an old man or a young man?'). The learner does not get all this in one lesson period, of course, but this is the order of presentation.

Let us consider next a larger 'word family' useful for the further presentation of the adverb of degree *too*, dealt with briefly above. The teacher starts with *very* and continues, perhaps some weeks later, to link *too* with infinitives. Still later he presents *enough*, and recalls *too*. What other words will help in this presentation? *Why*, *because* and *can* are the obvious choice. So his 'word family' is *very*, *too*, *enough*, *why*, *because* and *can*. The trainee, in the lesson he is to give, notes *enough* as a new word. Before his pupils see its difficult spelling in print, they must hear it. No use of the mother tongue is necessary for this structural word. The trainee will start with *very*, continue with *too*, use *why*, *because* and *can(not)*, all 'known' words. A brief sequence, for use in the tropics, with a ceiling fan revolving overhead, is:

'Can you touch that ceiling fan, Tom? Try! No, you can't. The fan's high. It's very high. Why can't Tom touch the fan? Because it's high. It's too high for him to touch. Tom's not tall enough to touch it.'

There will be many repetitions and variations of the sequence before the pupils are required to use the new word. But they will, after the presentation, answer questions, and later be required to repeat the sequences so that they themselves make the statements and ask and answer the questions, thus having the larger share of the total time. This is again an opportunity for the instructor to help his trainees. He can, from his experience, suggest the most useful 'word families' for use when a new and important structural word has to be presented. If his trainee is slow to see the kind of classroom situation or activity that is possible, he can suggest this. The trainee then goes to his teaching practice confident because well prepared.

After the presentation of *enough* in this situational sequence

the trainee may call attention to word order, pointing out that *too* precedes the adjective (*too large, too high, etc.*) and that *enough* follows (*not small enough, not tall enough, etc.*). He may write up on the board more sentences, placing them in frames to make the word order clear.

We must not overlook the possibility (even though we consider it regrettable) that in some countries the syllabus drawn up by the Department of Education, or perhaps an external school-leaving examination, may require pupils to be given a knowledge of formal grammar. Where grammar is a requirement, teachers must provide it, and trainees should be advised on ways of doing this.

If, in his teaching practice, the trainee gives definitions of such terms as *sentence* and *clause, noun, adjective, verb* and *adverb*, he should be shown that the usual definitions are misleading and useless. The chief names for the parts of speech may be used, but pupils should be helped to place words in the various classes not through the misleading definition but by seeing them placed in frames or tables, where the words in each column function similarly. Pupils will learn to recognise nouns from the ways in which they behave, the places they occupy in the frame, by whether they can be preceded by such determinatives as *a(n), the, this, that, these* or *those*. If the pupils are told that a verb is a word indicating activity, they may reasonably hesitate about giving *sleep* as a verb.

There is much more to be discussed by the instructor and his trainees. There are the problems of teaching reading and spelling, and of how to deal with written work. There is the preparation and use of visual aids—wall pictures, models, possibly filmstrips or cine-film. The school may have a record-player or a tape-recorder. Some of these items cost far more than most schools can afford, so their use is better treated in books or specialised periodicals. Oral work has been dealt with here because this is the kind of work that most trainees find difficult. It is often said that only the very fluent teacher is *fitted for this task*. It is true that fluency is necessary, but it is not difficult, given good training and plenty of practice, to speak fluently within the limits of what is required. The teacher need not be able to talk confidently, correctly and fluently about economic or political affairs, or to be happy in English on social occasions. There is no reason, however, why he should not

have confident command of the kind of spoken English needed for a beginner's course. Intonation is infinitely variable in social conversation, but fairly simple in classroom English (always on the condition of not losing one's temper). Familiarity with a large vocabulary is needed for advanced work, but a vocabulary of not more than three thousand words is adequate for a beginner's course. There are minimum qualifications for the primary school teacher, and with these he can be successful. There are good reasons for his having more than the minimum, but too often he has the wrong kind of qualifications. He may, like many university students the writer has known, read Carlyle and Hardy but be unable properly to take a first-year class.

When the lesson has been planned and discussed, and possibly rehearsed in the training college, the trainee is ready for his ordeal. He should enter the classroom and face his young pupils with some confidence in his ability to give a good lesson. He may well feel a little nervous, however, and his instructor, with the regular teacher of the class, must give him support. *The regular teacher, for example, can see that order is maintained.* No comments on the trainee's performance that might undermine his authority should be made during the lesson. Adverse criticism and fault-finding, if needed, should come later, when the lesson is over. What if he *does* go badly astray? The instructor must not let the children see that the trainee is doing badly. He may, instead, ask the trainee for permission to take over the class to illustrate a different (he need not say 'better') way of dealing with a teaching point, or a different way of handling children who are slow or dull. Just as it is a sin to discourage any small child, so it is wrong to cause a trainee to appear incompetent before a class of critical young children. There should be praise for what is good, and kindly correction, later, for what is poor.

There are many problems in the training of teachers of English that are not dealt with in this chapter. *There is the whole subject of school text-books.* In some schools the trainee will teach from well-planned and well-written text-books. In others he may have to teach from poor text-books, or even bad text-books. His instructor will then need to show him how to do the best possible. A good teacher can get good results even from bad text-books, if he has knowledge and enthusiasm. He will

rely much more on oral work, and make a minimum use of texts. The trainee himself may have learnt his English from out-of-date books. He may (in India, for example) have learnt his grammar from Nesfield, and may still believe that Nesfield's prescriptive grammar is more useful than the descriptive grammar of later writers. If the instructor sees that his trainee has this unfortunate legacy and outlook, he must again help. He may find a trainee who has acquired, and is anxious to pass on to young learners, a collection of what he calls 'idioms' ('raining cats and dogs', for example). Again the instructor must give a friendly warning. These are problems which will come up, fortunately, only as isolated instances.

Finally, the instructor has the duty of judging whether the trainee is likely to make a passably successful teacher. In these days of teacher shortages high standards cannot always and everywhere be insisted on. But if it becomes clear that a trainee has an insufficient command of English, or is unfitted through faults in his personality (lack of sympathy with young children, impatience or bad temper), then the trainee should not be allowed to continue.

TRAINING AND STUDY CENTRES IN BRITAIN

by W. R. Lee

English as a foreign or second language is taught by both English-speaking and non-English-speaking teachers.

Numbers being very large, most of the non-English teachers, if they are to be trained at all, must be trained in their own countries: though at present many of them, like many English teachers of English abroad, remain untrained. Local training centres ought to be provided wherever possible, and to some extent this depends on the availability of competent local staff.

The advantages of local training are real—it is not merely a matter of making the best of a bad job. The schools in which the trainees will teach are at hand, and there before their eyes are the recurrent problems they will have to face. Training can thus be extremely specific: 'This is the kind of class you will be teaching and this is what you will do.' The tutors will be familiar with local custom; some of them, indeed, may be familiar with nothing else. There is no great problem of adapting what is learnt. And there is no need to bother one's head with the teaching problems of the rest of the world. But should this be counted as an advantage? On the whole the present writer thinks not.

There is also the unquestionable disadvantage that there may not be much English to hear outside the classroom. Perhaps there is not much to read either—that depends on the local supply of books. In an English-speaking country, except when non-English students hold together in defensive phalanxes, English is all but inescapable, and is met with in recurring situations which do much to bring it to life. One of the main causes of ineffective English teaching in the world today is that so many teachers have an inadequate command of English. Where better than in situations where English is the normal means of communication can progress in command of English be made, always provided the student is not a beginner and will

plunge boldly into speaking it without overmuch shivering on the bank? Progress is of course possible at home too, but is harder to achieve. Records, broadcasts, and films are less effective than regular contact with native speakers in an English-speaking community, though 'aids' can reinforce the main effect and help in keeping up standards of achievement.

It is possible to argue that teachers may visit an English-speaking country to improve their English without necessarily being trained there or even attending any kind of course. This is true. Nevertheless, time and opportunity are not so plentiful that we should refrain from killing two birds with one stone whenever possible. It would, moreover, be unduly rigid to say, 'Let what is required be divided into language improvement and training to teach', as if these were mutually exclusive: on the contrary, they interpenetrate and can hardly be separated.

Furthermore, many of those who are qualified to train teachers of English as a foreign language do not want, and are indeed unable, to work abroad all the time. Family responsibilities and the absence of appropriate schools for their children in certain parts of the world bring them home. Older and more experienced people tend to be less free to live abroad for long periods than others. Training centres in English-speaking surroundings, because of their concern mainly with a minority intended to exercise influence on English teaching in their own countries, should be run by experienced staff.

There are some advantages in being trained in one's own country to teach English there, and there are some disadvantages in being trained outside it. Contact of the training staff in the English-speaking country with the local scene abroad, for instance, may be poor, and understanding of the conditions in which the trainees will have to work will be imperfect. Time may also be spent, during a multi-national course, on matters of little immediate concern in one's own classroom, on other peoples' classroom problems and difficulties. To a large extent the disadvantages can undoubtedly be overcome, and on the other hand there are real advantages in addition to that of being exposed to plenty of English. These will be touched upon in discussing what such centres in English-speaking countries could be like.

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But first, who should attend these centres? For a long time ahead it may well be that, for courses of one year or longer, no more than a minority of those concerned with the teaching of English will be able to come, even from nearby countries. Should this minority consist of practising teachers, or of students who have not yet begun to teach, or of both? Should preference be given to senior teachers, already influential? What about inspectors and administrators?

Such decisions cannot be made by the receiving end alone. Countries are different, moreover, and the answers to this kind of question are unlikely to be the same for all. Where there is a considered government policy on the development of English teaching, the answer will doubtless depend on the influence likely to be exerted by the ex-trainee. Too many, having developed good teaching skill and acquired some expert knowledge, are then raised to the exalted sphere of office-work and lost to the common world of teaching. Others are made inspectors, perhaps creatively preoccupied with the classroom or perhaps buried under a mountain of paper and frustrated by red tape. What is surely undesirable is that anybody should go back home, clad in respectable diplomas, merely to enunciate generalisations and give airy advice. This is easy enough to do and has little effect on teaching: it tends to seem impracticable, since nobody sees it put into practice. On the other hand, to send to Britain for training courses only those who will return to ordinary schools of such a kind that their teachers cannot exert influence over a wider field than the school itself, is also for the time being uneconomical and unproductive of the best result.

Probably the most effective plan is to send a number of types of trainee. A trained teacher can accomplish much more with the sympathetic understanding of his inspectors, and without his supervisors' approval may not even be free to work on new lines in his own school. But it is also true that a trained inspector, on returning home, may find himself in a difficult position if there are no day-to-day teachers whose classes bear living witness to the efficacy of the methods he recommends, for without such witness the cry soon goes up, 'That's all very well, but will it work?' A language-teaching inspector's or supervisor's own demonstrations—and this is one way in which he can be creative—cannot show the effect of a prolonged period of teaching. So

the inspector and teacher need each other's support. Further, it is an advantage for the administrator to have some insight into classroom methods. What is therefore necessary is that something like a team of people concerned in different ways with the development of English teaching in their own territory should be sent at frequent intervals for suitable training. On returning home they should fulfil various but complementary roles, and in particular there should be close collaboration between inspectors and teachers working in influential schools, where constructive seminars and practical conferences and demonstrations can take place. In this manner the best possible use can be made of limited opportunities for training in Britain and elsewhere. As training facilities develop—and at present they are in a rudimentary state—more such opportunities will be available, and in some countries there will doubtless then be less need of a carefully worked-out plan to spread the influence of a suitably trained minority throughout the schools.

The fact that, on returning to their own countries, the trainees will have to fulfil *various* roles, though ideally in collaboration, must help to determine the character of any training programmes attempting to provide for their needs. Such programmes ought not to be too highly specialised. Problems should not be considered from one viewpoint alone—the planner's, the inspector's, the classroom teacher's—but rather in turn from a number of viewpoints, and above all of course from those of the pupils. Nor should the problems be considered at one stage of teaching only—so it is not a matter of courses for primary teachers, for secondary teachers, and so on; still less of courses for teachers of the first year, teachers of the 'school certificate year', etc. Teachers sometimes try to close their minds to whatever does not seem to be their immediate concern, commenting, 'But I never teach beginners/non-beginners/mixed classes/large classes/small classes', etc. Narrowness such as this is an obstacle to language-teaching reform. Many teachers, moreover, do not specialise to this extent: they teach classes of more than one kind. Yet even where they do not, they should understand something about the stages which precede and follow their own, and about classes larger and smaller than their own or different in some other way; for this understanding will throw light on their own immediate tasks, and without it they will tend to be unadapt-

able, seeing only what is under their noses. Indeed, the teaching of English in any country must benefit by being viewed as a whole, not only by the advising specialist and the administrator but by the ordinary classroom teacher, who may thus see more clearly into the kind of contribution he himself makes.

Teachers of younger and older pupils, elementary and advanced learners alike, will be brought together and within the general scheme of training will compare notes, exchange views, and explore common problems. Each will find his own opportunities more clearly illuminated through contrast with those of others. But the possibility of groupings of trainees to study particular problems is not ruled out. Thus, side by side with all-level classes or discussion groups, others may be organised for, say, primary teachers, in which these concern themselves in greater detail with their own special work. How much segregation according to level of English teaching or age of pupils there is will doubtless vary from one centre to another. But to segregate thus except in an environment where the segregation is only part-time, so that any undesirable consequences it may have can soon be dispelled, is not a creative policy; for these consequences are real and may be summed up as blindness to essentials. The over-segregated trainee stands too close, as it were, to his commitment, and fails to see the wood for the trees.

There is also much to be said against segregation by country or linguistic area, although in some quarters this is a fashionable idea. Much of the advantage of being trained in an English-speaking country is lost if one's fellow-trainees are exclusively or even mainly like oneself, speaking the same language and preoccupied with the same teaching problems. Segregation according to the trainee's first language is advocated on the ground that English-learning difficulties differ from one language-area to another. But this, it appears, is no more than a half-truth. Certain difficulties are widespread, if not general. It seems that only a few of those met with in a particular language-area are peculiar to that area. Even if this were not so, there could still be some regular or occasional linguistic segregation within a generally unsegregated body of students.

The argument against segregation on linguistic grounds is not merely an argument against too narrow and exclusive a concentration on the linguistic difficulties of teaching English in a

particular language-area. It is also an argument that these very difficulties may be better understood and dealt with in the light of broader linguistic knowledge. Certainly it is encouraging to find that teachers from other parts of the world meet with some of one's own difficulties, and intriguing to notice that there are certain others which never come one's way. Contrast teaches a great deal. Just as, in the fairly recent history of linguistics, the 'discovery' and description of languages very unlike those of Europe has helped us to see more plainly what the European languages are like, so a first-hand acquaintance with English-learning difficulties unlike our own helps us to see and understand our own the better. 'How extraordinary that Mr X, of Colombo, should say *pat* instead of *fat*. How remarkable that Mrs Y, of Sofia, should have so much difficulty with *a* and *the*. What is the reason? What lies behind all this?' Diversity stimulates curiosity and thought and can help to dissolve prejudice. With a wide range of linguistic 'evidence' at hand, it is easier to illustrate points in an interesting way and to discover underlying principles.

There is an even more practical reason for avoiding much linguistic segregation: namely, that wherever speakers of the same mother tongue are gathered together they have an irresistible tendency to speak it. A multilingual environment, on the other hand, compels the use of more English. Admittedly no trainee wants to come thousands of miles to hear English being spoken badly—but at least he will be forced to express himself in it and to struggle with its resources, and he is likely to have very frequent contact with native English speakers. He will certainly hear acceptable English less often at home, even if a 'received' local standard has been created. Students ought to make the effort of speaking English as often as possible, if their progress is to be rapid; and maximum speech activity in English is to be had at a 'non-segregated' English-speaking centre.

Nor are the advantages of non-segregation by language linguistic alone. On the contrary, the additional advantages are probably greater. It is stimulating to meet fellow-teachers from elsewhere, especially if their work somewhat resembles one's own. From this angle a training centre is seen as a community, not merely as a bilateral confrontation of tutors and taught. There is enrichment in variety and change, in getting

away from what is familiar. And if there is any loss through having to spend time on what seems not directly relevant to the situation at home, there is greater gain through broadening of the mind to take in a wider range of experience. Coming from all the points of the compass, the members of such a community help to educate one another, both inside and outside the formal programme of training. A unilingual or uniregional community is poorer in many respects. In this matter, also, the education of the tutoring staff cannot be overlooked, for only by remaining constantly in touch with a variety of problem and circumstance may they hope to keep a good sense of perspective and do their work with maximum understanding. Once again, however, there is nothing to prevent specialisation of interest within the broader context.

Concerning graduates and non-graduates little need be said. The possession of a degree is no guarantee of teaching ability, as, for their own reasons, non-graduates never tire of pointing out. But not possessing one is no guarantee of teaching ability either. In non-English-speaking countries graduates in English usually have a better command of the language than non-graduates, although a lot could be done to reform and diversify degree courses in English for overseas students and to bring them closer to their real interests and needs. However, to segregate graduate and non-graduate teacher-trainees entirely, on principle, seems to imply approval of a type of intellectual snobbery. Nevertheless a division might have to be made between those who have enough English to follow an English-medium course and those who have not, the latter going elsewhere for a time to bring their English up to scratch. There is no implication here that one of the main activities of a training centre should not be to explore the nature and resources of the English language with the trainees and to improve their command of it still further. That is indeed a central task.

Other gaps in the non-graduate's (or the graduate's) armoury can be filled with the help of special groups and classes, attended by some but not all, within the general programme. There needs to be a basic course for everybody, some parts of which can be skipped by those already competent in them, and provision also for sectional needs.

Is it possible to train together those who speak English as their first language and those who do not? It is both possible

and desirable, although again there should be segregation for certain kinds of work. Native English-speaking trainees have no need of classes to improve their command of the language.¹ On the other hand, they are unlikely, except by virtue of previous study, to be consciously aware of its 'make-up' and of the way it is used. Analytical study of English is therefore as much for them as for anybody else. Trainees from abroad should be actively concerned with improving their grasp of English, particularly (while they are in an English-speaking country) on the oral side. Thus it is an advantage for them to mix socially with native English students, and from a language-teaching point of view any friendships which may spring up are likely to be beneficial. At the same time native English trainees have an opportunity of learning informally something about the various countries of the world, the people they will have to deal with there, the traditions and atmosphere, the classroom conditions. Some of the English-learning difficulties will undoubtedly be observable in their fellow-students' speech. In such a 'mixed' community a rich source of information for the native English student lies immediately to hand, and the non-English student, in return for the benefit of 'real' English conversation, is willing to have it exploited. All this, of course, by no means excludes more systematic instruction on the same topics, and for native English teachers known to be going to a particular part of the world this should be available at some point.

Among the native English-speaking students may be some with previous experience abroad, and these would be able to extend their knowledge in contact with students from countries of which they know little. Those with substantial experience in a territory to which they intend to return would probably be glad to meet others from the same territory, and perhaps to discuss special points of local interest.

But the advantages of training native and foreign teachers of English as a foreign language together do not arise only from informal social mixing. Formal tuition too, as we have suggested, has a broader field of living example to draw on, and a tutor's illustration of some point about language becomes the more vivid and credible if it can be detected in a student's speech. Once again, it is variety which stimulates interest: the fact, for example, that there are so many different ways of saying a given

¹ Training in voice production, etc., is a different matter.

thing, or that in language X you have no articles, or that in the classrooms of Y there is no electricity but they do have home-made pictures and puppets. Indeed, almost any kind of surprising difference in language-teaching situation or practice may be of interest. The stimulating discovery of a new perspective is harder to make within a narrow study-community consisting largely of one's own kind—people from the same country, for instance, or from the same level of teaching.

What has been said about the kind of people who would attend such a centre implies a great deal about the kind of work that would be carried on. There must be four main types of activity for the student: acquiring a better grasp of English, acquiring a keener analytical awareness of English (and also of one's mother tongue, if this is different), acquiring a good understanding of language-teaching methods and techniques, and acquiring some teaching skill (or improving it).

'The course' is a misleading term. Instead, a number of activities would be in progress at the centre, and students would construct their programmes of study by selecting from these. Thus certain activities would be obligatory for certain types of student—e.g. language-improvement classes and perhaps language-laboratory exercises for those whose English was inadequate; and phonetics classes for those ignorant of the theory of phonetics or deficient in the phonetic skills. There would be certain exemptions for those who could prove their competence in particular directions. Tests or examinations could be sectionalised, and credits given for each section passed.¹

There is still a tendency to think of education and training as something given and taken initially once and for all. They are sometimes referred to as if they were a kind of equipment taken on board for the entire voyage of life. It is surely time this attitude was discarded. The voyage metaphor is inappropriate, even with the addition that from time to time one should

¹ An all-or-nothing policy of examining the candidate in every aspect of the work at the same time has little to recommend it. It ought to be possible to take a particular kind of test when one is ready for it and to refuse it before that. Any certificate or diploma would, of course, register only the tests passed, and it is probably best to allow re-entry for the purpose of improving a grade of pass. Objection can be made to these policies on administrative grounds, although they need give rise to no great administrative complication. They do, however, raise the question of how long a student should stay at the centre.

put into port for repairs and a fresh coat of paint. Education and training go on continuously as long as the learner's interest remains alive.

If one must speak of a *course* of training in the teaching of English as a foreign language, it should not be as a complete and once-and-for-all course, at the end of which the trainee can flourish a document suggesting in somewhat general terms that he is fully trained, a finished article ready for the market. Again, the inappropriate metaphor reflects an unreasonable attitude. The trainee has perhaps followed a first training course; if so, his training will need extension. Much of this extension will come incidentally over the years, from teaching experience itself; but not all. It is desirable to keep in touch with a training centre and to go back from time to time for relatively short periods, especially (as far as non-English teachers are concerned) if the centre is placed in an English-speaking country.

One purpose of such return visits would be to strengthen this or that weak part of a teacher's qualifications. Another might be to bring his knowledge of apparatus and materials up to date. But the traffic cannot be one-way. An active centre cannot sit there waiting to be visited, but must go out into the field. If it is to do its work effectively, regular contact must be kept with a *variety* of countries where English is taught; a high degree of specialisation in country or area would be very undesirable here, as encouraging an unproductive narrowness of view. Perhaps the most fruitful contacts are informal, both with ex-students (particularly those doing some kind of research in association with the centre) and with the educational authorities themselves. Contact must, of course, include frequent visits on the part of tutors at the centre to countries abroad, and, again, to a variety of countries. Some of these visits might be of substantial length. Only in this way can tutors keep a fresh and up-to-date awareness of what the problems and opportunities are, as seen from the local teachers' viewpoint.

There must also be a two-way traffic in ideas. A centre which admitted only those with little or no experience in the teaching of English as a foreign language would be a poorer place than one which also admitted teachers (English and non-English alike) with substantial experience, teachers bringing with them very often a good knowledge of what is possible and effective in the classroom. Teacher-training, however, is still so sketchy

assessment of the trainees' skill. If schools are available locally, this need not be 'block' practice but could be stretched over a substantial part of the year. Because, however, only a non-English-speaking country can offer an environment in which English is learnt mainly in the classroom, there should, ideally, be at least a month's teaching practice abroad.

More important than the amount of practice is the way it is carried on. Little good can come from pitching the trainees into teaching situations and leaving them to sink or swim. The tutor must at first act as a life-jacket. There should be a movement from almost complete dependence on the tutor towards complete independence, difficult to attain in a year. For absolute beginners, the main value of teaching practice lies in the experience of meeting a class and trying to get on good terms with it. The value of the experience can be greatly heightened if lessons are discussed with a tutor before and after they are given, and this applies also to trainees who have taught before but who are new to language teaching. Much of a centre's activity ought to consist of detailed discussion of how to promote various kinds of language skill, of how to conduct various types of work, of how to use materials and 'aids'—in short, of what to do in the classroom. There is a lot to be said for associating much of this basic discussion with teaching practice in groups. The pupils are taught by the members of the group in turn, the others being present along with the tutor. There is mutual preparation and discussion, and the tutor does some teaching too. Such an arrangement is on the whole popular. The trainee is not left alone with his class, but it is doubtful whether he should be in the early stages of training. Lessons can also be 'rehearsed' in the lecture-room, or even the classroom, using a mock class and interrupted action.

The value of practice is partly lost if the trainee has to give an unduly large number of lessons. Very careful preparation ought to be the general rule: first, because a habit of preparation is well worth acquiring, and, secondly, because the unfamiliar becomes familiar only through close scrutiny and attentive thought. Spending two hours on the preparation of one lesson rather than of six lessons is likely to be more profitable not only to the trainee but to the pupils he teaches.

Demonstrations by the tutor should not be an occasional half-hour wonder, but an integral part of the work. They cannot

be looked upon as model lessons, but only as illustrations of demonstrable aspects of teaching. They too need careful preparation, into which it will often be advantageous for the trainees to take part. Demonstrations can bring to life points the tutor has been making, can show that certain procedures work, and can reveal teaching and learning to be thoroughly enjoyable. They can also dispel any unworthy suspicion that the tutor lacks classroom experience and teaching ability. More effective than an isolated demonstration is a series long enough to yield evidence of achievement on the part of the class. If the series is long enough, trainees can give 'follow-up' periods within it.

Good teaching-practice arrangements depend in great measure on an easy relationship between the centre and the schools. Trainees should take part as fully as possible in school life, although as far as teaching is concerned they remain under their tutor's supervision. The schools may be expected to put up with a degree of inconvenience, but the centre should be prepared and able to offer them something in return—from books and film-shows to a contribution to school funds, or perhaps an investigation of some specific problem in which a school is interested.

There is another kind of demonstration which does not call for a class of children learning English, but in which the trainees themselves are taught a language of which they know nothing. They are thus put in a beginner's shoes and get first-hand experience of some of the problems. Many teachers have forgotten their first encounters with a strange language. The experience is salutary and much useful discussion generally emerges from it.

Films of language-teaching procedures, and language-teaching films themselves, can also play some part in stimulating thought.

Practice in teaching adults is a separate problem. They pay their money and are reluctant to act as guinea-pigs for an inexperienced teacher. Demonstrations are perhaps possible and trainees may be able to give extra lessons free of charge. In many countries school-teachers of English teach adults in their spare time, to eke out low salaries, and for this reason, if for no other, some consideration of problems peculiar to the teaching of adults, and some practice in teaching adults, should be provided.

We now turn to the other main types of activity to be carried on at a training centre: acquiring a better grasp of English, and acquiring more awareness of what English is and how it is used.

On the language-improvement side, speed is essential. The trainee whose English is not up to scratch needs to improve it rapidly; otherwise he will be unable to cope with the rest of his programme. Thus language-improvement classes should be concentrated in the early weeks or months of the training period, and the proportion of time they occupy gradually reduced.

The burden of discursive talk and of complicated and unhelpful 'rules' weighs heavily on many a student of English. Further work at the language should be chiefly a matter of situational use and of drills, and of these the former is the more fundamental and rewarding. Trainees from abroad should be helped to make social contact with native English-speaking people who are interested in meeting students from abroad. Wherever possible, a trainee should live and mix with an English family. The training centre itself is unlikely to be able to make such arrangements, but at least it can co-operate with agencies which do. Of even greater benefit is informal association with English-speaking fellow students, and this the centre—by means, for instance, of shared tasks of preparation—can do much to promote.

Many non-English teachers have not read much, or widely, in English. Once a certain level of achievement has been reached, further progress in general command of a language depends greatly on print, even when there is plenty of opportunity for speech. No doubt it is unnecessary to visit an English-speaking country to read English: yet books in English are not easy to get everywhere, and in some parts of the world they are as rare as rain in the desert. Yet it has to be admitted that there is little time for wide reading on a one-year teacher-training course.

Because time is short, planned exposure to the language becomes necessary. Again, this is not merely a matter of drills. It is chiefly a matter of contextualising the usage; that is, of making clear (often by visual 'demonstration') in what situations a particular feature or pattern of the language (such as a tense-form) is appropriate. The usage is taught by repeatedly involving the learner in like situations, seen or imagined. But how a usage is taught depends also on what has been taught

before and what is to follow. Problems of grading and learning-practice cannot be solved except by looking closely at the way the language works in situations. Talks on such problems can well be combined with language-improvement classes.

At a somewhat higher stage of achievement, exercises in the interpretation of texts are valuable, and will come into their own during the latter part of a training programme. The aim is to establish the exact meaning of the text and, again, the approach is a contextual one, the meaning of the part being determined by the meaning of the whole, and vice versa. Here, also, is an avenue to literary appreciation.

Phonetics comes in here too. If a teacher is to detect faults of pronunciation and correct them, he needs a course in phonetic theory and a programme of ear and speech-organ training exercises. Development of the phonetic skills for teaching purposes will also have a beneficial effect on his own pronunciation.

Situational practice of the language is of far more value than drills; but this does not mean that drills are valueless. There are, indeed, situational drills, as when sentences are chosen from a substitution table to fit what can be observed in a picture or in the room or to suit a familiar story. Yet even a non-situational drill may have value as a pronunciation exercise. It is highly desirable, however, to put into sentence-pattern drills *only material which is already well understood*.

Drills invite machinery. The centre should build up its own library of records and tapes, and it should take only a few moments to discover from the catalogue what recorded exercises based on a particular language pattern can be obtained, and another few moments to get to work with these in the language laboratory. The students' efforts can either be monitored at the time or 'marked' by means of recorded comment subsequently. As auditory aids improve, the way is opened to regular oral homework for all language-learners. Homework is at present mainly a silent affair. *Given inexpensive apparatus*, there is no reason why learners should not take home a portion of speech and take back to school something they have spoken. There is also no reason why pupils should not co-operate in doing such homework; for instance, in recording dialogues or playlets. In the earlier stages of learning, this is more enjoyable than to sit alone.

As a way of getting familiar with common patterns and usages,

oral exercises are quicker than written ones. Although some written work is essential in the language-improvement classes, basic language-material is best revised or relearnt through speech. Writing is necessary with more advanced material, for then there may be more than one way of saying a thing and the relative slowness of writing allows time for consideration.

Where remedial work should begin and how far it can go depends on the particular students. General difficulties can be dealt with collectively, whereas some of those met with only by learners from certain countries will call for individual treatment.

By such means the student at the centre acquires a more confident as well as a more accurate command of English as rapidly as he can. Meaning is the hub on which all this work turns, though explanations of meaning are incidental. There may be the stimulus of rough-and-ready tests administered in passing; but the real test lies in how the learner gets on linguistically with native speakers of English.

It is not only, however, a question of mastering the language itself more fully, but also of voice production, of manner, and of personality, and this aspect of training concerns native English-speaking trainees too. Gabble, shamefaced muttering, strident and disagreeable speech—all these are a handicap to the language-teacher, busy supplying a model which should not repel. But here, it seems, we return once more to 'methods', an aspect of teaching which includes the establishment of a good relationship with the learners. Here again we are back in the classroom, for it is useless to try to learn of such things except by observation on the spot, and by trial and error with real flesh-and-blood children. A teacher's manner, attitude, and outlook count for at least as much as his knowledge. What is valuable here can be patiently cultivated out of a seed of interest in how others look at life. A good teacher learns to put himself in his pupils' shoes.

What, now, of the fourth main activity, the analytical study of English? Just as there is overlap of language-improvement work and study of methods and techniques, so also there is overlap of these (particularly the former) and linguistic study. Close examination of a language, to discover what it is and how it works, does in some small measure help an educated adult

learner to use it. This admitted, it must be emphasised that the distinction between learning a language and learning *about* a language, however rough and ready it may be, is an important one. The present writer remembers learning a certain amount about Sinhalese and Tamil before visiting Ceylon a few years ago, and as a consequence could see more clearly what underlay certain Ceylonese difficulties with English; but his knowledge of the learners' mother tongues gave, and was meant to give, no ability in using them. A great deal of so-called language learning has consisted of the absorption of facts about the language and the ingestion of 'rules', resulting in an engorgement of grammar. Where the aim is to teach the ability to speak and understand speech well and to read accurately, much of this is merely a distraction, an extra and unnecessary burden on the memory. But it would be going too far to suggest that for *no* learners at any stage is any of this kind of knowledge helpful.

The linguist is mainly preoccupied with describing and with problems of description. Modern linguistics has deepened our knowledge of what languages are, although much in linguistic theory remains in dispute. Undoubtedly there are some applications of linguistics to language teaching, and undoubtedly also these include *misapplications*. What is certain is that the teacher should be as fully aware as possible of what he is trying to teach. The more he knows *about* the forms and functions of language, assuming that he can use it well, the better he can plan out what to teach, and when and how. Teachers who write text-books, in particular, need this awareness.

It is true that not all language-teachers are free to plan out what they teach, and that many a teacher without such freedom is effective in the classroom. Nevertheless a teacher should, preferably, understand the material he is handling and be able to modify it and add to it intelligently if need be.

How deeply into the study of linguistics need a language-teacher go? Is it necessary for teachers to go into basic questions of linguistic theory? Linguistics is a heady subject and exaggerated claims are sometimes made for it. A current absurdity is to equate 'applied linguistics' with language-teaching theory, as if this should be founded on nothing but language descriptions. Hastiness and crudity of application have often been evident. The view that language courses should be based mainly on contrastive study of the native and the target languages,

lessons being built on the differences between the two and similarities being left to take care of themselves, has had widespread support, at present perhaps diminishing. A tornado of transformational grammar now whirls across the scene, bringing the old conversion exercises, refurbished somewhat, back into temporary favour, at least where language learning is regarded as a kind of routine juggling with forms.

One cause of theoretical confusion is that the attitudes appropriate to language description and those appropriate to language teaching are not kept sufficiently apart. Generative or transformational grammar may possibly, as Lyons suggests, have 'important and suggestive implications for psychological theories of speech-perception and of the learning and use of language',¹ but this does not mean that a procedure used in descriptive work to uncover a type of relationship can legitimately be transferred to teaching and preparations for teaching, where the aim is very different. Lyons rightly points out that 'there is no necessary coincidence between the aims of theoretical linguistics, the scientific study of language for its own sake, and the more practical tasks of "applied linguistics"'.²

What can be said with confidence about the application of linguistics to language teaching? It has been soberly enough stated by Halliday, McIntosh and Strevens that

the role of linguistics and phonetics in language teaching is not to tell the teacher how to teach. The teacher of the language is as much a specialist in his field as the linguist is in his, and will remain so. He is not teaching linguistics. But he is teaching something which is the object of study of linguistics, and is described by linguistic methods. This is the main contribution that the linguistic sciences can make to the teaching of languages: to provide good descriptions.³

Linguistic study is also of value as a corrective of naïve or false beliefs about language; as, for instance, that the written form is more 'correct' than the spoken, that languages degenerate, or that meaning is something unchangeably inherent in the word. Then, again, as W. F. Mackey says:

Although the ability to analyse a language may not be the most important qualification of a language teacher, some training in

¹ J. Lyons, 'The Scientific Study of Language', Inaugural Lecture, University of Edinburgh, 1965.

² *The Linguistic Sciences and Language Teaching* (1964), p. 166.

practical linguistics can enable him to establish with more precision than he otherwise might what is the same and what is different in the languages with which he has to deal. It can also help him understand, evaluate, and perhaps use some of the descriptions of the language he is teaching. And if the training is neither too one-sided nor doctrinaire it may prevent him from becoming the prisoner of a single school of thought and encourage him to surmount the great terminological barriers which have prevented any mutual understanding in linguistics.¹

If the main contribution of linguistics is to provide descriptions of languages, then the language-teacher should study descriptions of the languages with which he deals; and he need not concern himself unduly with the descriptive theory which underlies these descriptions. If linguistics is needed to dispel misconceptions about language in general, then a course in the history of linguistics may be the best means of dispelling them. But whatever is provided for the teacher in training, the core of it ought surely to be what has general acceptance and not what is in dispute. Explanatory references to current disputes of which the students may have heard need not be altogether excluded.

In Britain today there is perhaps a tendency, especially on the part of those centres of linguistic study which concern themselves with the formation of attitudes towards language teaching and the training of language-teachers, to overestimate the importance of linguistics in this sphere. A language-teacher's training must accommodate much more than study of linguistics, and if we have still to think in terms of one-year courses, that study cannot bulk large. An appropriate allocation might be one or two lectures a week (except during periods of teaching practice) on the history of ideas about language, the emphasis being on the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and nine or ten periods a week for detailed study of the build and usage of English, some reference being made to the trainees' own languages too.

Phonetic theory is included in this reckoning, but not the practical side of phonetics, which is also an aspect, as far as non-English students are concerned, of their language-improvement activity. For students speaking English as a mother tongue, on

¹ 'Applied Linguistics: Its Meaning and Use', *English Language Teaching*, xx, 3 (May 1966), p. 203.

the other hand, phonetic training is rather a means of making them aware of usage, chiefly their own. For both kinds of student, it is a necessary accompaniment to work on methods of improving others' pronunciation. If we are thinking of a one-year period of study, broken into by several periods of practice, it seems that four to five hours a week for cultivation of the phonetic skills is little enough, and that a high degree of competence cannot be produced within that time.

Study and training are not, however, solely a matter of hours spent in the lecture-room or with tutors. Time spent in the company of books and recordings, or of fellow-students, or in solitary thought, is essential too. Certain kinds of classwork are fruitless without the individual's regular follow-up activity afterwards: reading and thought, language exercises painstakingly done, and so on. The preparation of lessons, real or mock, is bound in large measure to be an individual responsibility, especially in the latter half of the training programme. It is hard to say, therefore, what the extent of the course really is, since much of it is inevitably not time-tabled. Lectures, seminars, tutorials, discussions, practice periods—these are simply the core.

Experienced teachers who wish to acquire an elementary knowledge of linguistics should, of course, be able to attend the linguistics classes at the centre. Another reason for returning from time to time would be to keep abreast of recent work on English. Advanced students, and indeed others, may play some part in the centre's linguistic research. Teaching is apt to go stale if there is no spirit of inquiry to freshen it, and there seems no reason to limit investigation and research severely to questions of teaching method or material. Granted that major research into English usage¹ has to be done elsewhere by those who can devote their whole time to it, no convincing case can be made for entire neglect of linguistic research by a teacher-training centre. A great deal is missing from the good traditional grammars of English and we cannot wait a decade or two for a complete new description. Approximate answers have to be found quickly, by rough-and-ready though not unsystematic means, to many problems of usage which force themselves on the attention of those considering in detail what should be taught and how.

It follows that the teaching load should not be so great that research is difficult to squeeze in. It would be many-sided, ranging over such topics as the collection and classification of errors of various types made in various countries, comparative lexical and structural counts based on English children's and adults' use of English, foreign science-students' difficulties of comprehension, the linguistic implications of the use of various media (e.g. film), the influence of L. 1 skills on L. 2 learning, the detailed observation of the way a given feature of English is learnt in particular circumstances, techniques of examining, ways of teaching reading and other skills, the suitability of particular pieces of literature in various parts of the world, the relation of the language skills to each other, the influence on foreign-language learning of procedures used in the same school to teach other subjects, problems of grading, attitudes to language learning, the comparative value of various 'aids' used for particular purposes, and the differences between language learning by young children, older children, and adults. This is an arbitrary list, which it would be easy to extend.

The two main aspects of a centre's work would thus be a research programme and a programme of teacher-training. Obviously they interpenetrate. Students would be drawn into some of the research projects (primarily the concern of members of staff) and not allowed to think that everything of importance about language teaching has been settled. It can be exciting, indeed, to realise that much remains to be explored and that ordinary teachers can take part in the exploration. Some emphasis should be laid on the possibilities of small-scale classroom investigation by the ordinary teacher.

Criticism has been made earlier in this chapter of the once-and-for-all course, supposedly qualifying the trainee for the rest of his career, and of the practice of examining a student in every aspect of the work at a single time of examination. It seems preferable to allow tests of various types to be taken when a candidate is up to the necessary standard. Among reasons for returning to a centre after a period of teaching would be the need to repair gaps in one's knowledge or skill and to take supplementary tests. The work does have many sides, and it takes time to become well qualified in it. The inexperienced trainee must, of course, successfully complete a basic programme,

and without doubt the first need for the non-English-speaking teacher is to be sure of a certain standard of English, and for all teachers to be sure of a certain degree of teaching skill. Initial training must concentrate on these two things.

But is it possible to meet even these two fundamental requirements in a course lasting only one academic year? The traditional pattern in most British universities still consists of a three-year degree course followed by a year's teacher-training. A great deal, however, has to be crammed into that year apart from the work suggested in this chapter. Time has to be found for such things as the philosophy of education, the history of education in Britain, and elementary psychology—not to speak of social life. There is far too much here.

Furthermore, some of the skills needed by the language-teacher cannot be well developed in a short time, notably the phonetic skills. Foreign-language teaching, moreover, is a study which is making rapid strides. With each year that passes there is more for the trainee to attend to, more to be absorbed from other people's experience. Bibliographies on the teaching of English as a foreign language are expanding fast.

What, then, is the solution to this problem of time? There is only one, it seems, and that is to make an earlier start and to spread the training over a longer period. Thus a student would more or less commit himself to a particular kind of teaching career from the time he left school, or at least from an early stage in his post-school courses. His choice of subjects would be restricted accordingly. It would include elementary linguistics and the history of language study, contemporary English, the phonetics of English and perhaps of some other language, practical phonetic training, elementary psychology, and possibly the philosophy of education. Such an arrangement would relieve the burden on the 'training year' and make it possible to concentrate more intensively on classroom matters.

All this would be relatively easy to arrange for British trainees, and indeed there are signs that such a reform is on the way in Britain already. It is not so easy to arrange for foreign trainees. The idea unfortunately prevails that a one-year course is sufficient. Further, those who most need to be trained in an English-speaking country, because of the leadership they can subsequently offer, are often those that can least be spared for a long time. One can only hope that the need for this longer

training will soon be understood, and adequate funds supplied. Part of the training could, in principle, be given in the student's own country; but in practice, the necessary courses are not likely to be available everywhere.

One-year training in this field is clearly inadequate. Within the universities system the work can be spread in the way suggested. No student would then embark upon the final 'training year' without giving proof of competence in certain studies. There seems no compelling reason why teaching practice also should not begin much earlier. The prospective teacher would have an earlier idea of what he was committing himself to, and the chance of withdrawing in good time if he came to the conclusion that teaching was not for him.

Extended training such as this must, of course, come under the centre's direct control. It is obviously desirable to collaborate with other departments or institutions, but there should be no question of completely handing over would-be teachers for several years to those not specially concerned with teaching matters, and of denying the trainees specialised advice from a teaching angle until the final year. The centre should exercise an overall supervision throughout.

Who can run such centres, and where should they be established? Some half-dozen British universities already have arrangements for the training of teachers of English as a foreign language, mainly by institutes and departments of education and departments of linguistics and English; and if training of this kind is to begin much earlier, this doubtless points straight to a big expansion of those arrangements. Indeed, those concerned would supervise the work of an intending teacher from the very beginning of his university career, arranging what he should study and at the same time introducing him to the more practical side of his work. Like medical training, the whole process would extend over a number of years and the practical work would enter at an early point.

The training of school-teachers, whatever subject or skill they are to teach or are teaching, ought surely not to be in the hands of those who have never taught in a school, or whose experience of teaching children has been limited to a few weeks of school practice. Lecturing is hardly a form of teaching, and we may query whether conclusions drawn from lecturing experience

can be applicable except to instruction of a certain type given to a certain type of adult learner. Most English-as-a-foreign-language trainees are concerned, either directly or indirectly, with children. Many are concerned with adults too, but will not succeed in teaching them English by lecturing about it.¹

Furthermore, many of those who attend training centres in English-speaking countries take part themselves, sooner or later, in the training of teachers, or even of teacher-trainers, in other countries. Indeed, it has often been urged that teacher-training centres in Britain should specialise in this kind of student. The training of school-teachers cannot be effectively carried out unless there are close links with schools; that is, unless the training is a practical as well as a theoretical one. But this is equally true of the training of teacher-trainers, and perhaps even truer. The farther one soars into the stratosphere, the more rarefied the atmosphere becomes. One is reminded of A. B. Ramsay's lines:

No teacher, I, of boys and smaller fry.
No teacher, I, of teachers; no, not I.
Mine was the distant aim, the longer reach,
To teach men how to teach men how to teach.

Such an aim can be accomplished only by those who know how to teach, and with the help of teaching. The training of teacher-trainers, as of teachers, ought to be centred on the classroom.

Experienced and competent teachers, one is sometimes told, do not need to learn how to teach. This is obvious. It should be equally obvious that they cannot easily discuss teaching problems with non-teachers and that these cannot supervise their research into such problems. On the other hand, non-teachers may give competent guidance in certain branches of their study; for instance, in linguistics and phonetics. Not all the tutors at a training centre need have been teachers.

It would also be going too far to suggest that all should have taught the kind of pupils taught by the trainees in the countries from which they have come or to which they are going. One might argue, for instance, that it is impossible to advise a Sudanese secondary school teacher, without having worked in Sudanese secondary schools, or a Polish primary school teacher without having taught young children in Poland. There is a

¹ Trainees may, of course, be able to use in their subsequent teaching of adults the methods used to improve their own English.

half-truth here, in that without such strictly local experience full advice cannot be given on every point; but it is no more than a half-truth, since pupils in different countries have a great deal in common. Compromise is inevitable. It is valuable if the teaching of young children can be discussed with tutors who have taught young children somewhere, if the use of film-strip can be examined with tutors who have used film-strip widely, and so on. Rigid prescription is not called for—some adaptation to local circumstances is always necessary.

It is of paramount importance that those who direct such training centres should themselves have been school-teachers and should have taught English as a foreign language. It is inappropriate for training to be directed by people who lack such experience, while those who have had it play a subordinate role. The training of language-teachers ought not to be regarded as an aspect of the work of a linguistics department. Something like the opposite is nearer the mark. The study of linguistics is but one aspect of the training programme. The lecturer on linguistics should be a member of the centre's staff.

Perhaps it matters less where such centres are established than who runs them and what they do. With their medical schools and institutes of education, British universities have built up a tradition of combined theoretical and practical work. The idea of basing university study to a large extent on what goes on outside the university is not new. If intending teachers are immured for most of their training within lecture-rooms and libraries, this is not because the department or centre has been established at university level. Moreover, snobbery or no snobbery, it cannot be denied that establishment of centres at university level confers on them a certain status.

It is difficult to see where else they could be set up. Local education authorities run short training courses for teachers of immigrants, and could perhaps establish one or two training colleges for the purpose.¹ Training colleges are linked with institutes of education, and on the whole it would be wasteful to establish separate training centres there, though there is

¹ There seems no reason why both English and immigrant teachers of immigrants should not receive long-term training in company with trainees chiefly concerned with English teaching abroad. Again, it is stimulating for both to become aware of the differences between their similar tasks. Both, moreover, would be teaching 'immigrant' children during periods of practice.

always the possibility of one in each area specialising in English as a foreign language. There are also the colleges of further education and the colleges of technology.

Nevertheless the idea of establishing such centres wholly or mainly at university level, where most of them are now, leaves one with a sense of misgiving. If the centres can establish close links with schools, well and good; but the only part of a university which is already accustomed to doing this is the institute or department of education. Departments of English and of linguistics normally have no such tradition of external relationship, and are not likely to develop one under the direction of non-teachers. Nor are the productive relationships, personal and formal, only with schools at home. They should also be with schools and teachers abroad, with ex-students at home and abroad, with non-English learners and educational institutions in various countries. A training and study centre for teachers of English as a foreign language can doubtless develop all these contacts and do its varied work effectively enough within the framework of an institute of education (or similar institution), and yet it is tempting to ask whether a higher degree of independence might not enable it to do its work better still.

Finance raises its ugly head and inquires about the cost. A few big centres of training, generously staffed and lavishly equipped, are cheaper than many small ones. Undoubtedly a centre can be too small, so that the necessary variety of class is unobtainable. But it can also be too large. The larger it is, the greater the volume of administrative work, swallowing up the director's teaching and research time. A maximum of sixty to seventy students, including experienced ones, appears reasonable, and this means a staff of about six tutors, apart from a director whose main business would not be administration.

It is sometimes said that staff are unobtainable for more than the extremely few training centres that already exist. The assumption is highly dubious. And centres need not always be entirely self-contained. They may find it easier to make their way in an ambience where they can 'borrow' lecturers from other departments, e.g. of linguistics and phonetics, of audio-visual aids. This is a workable arrangement where the content of the lectures can be satisfactorily arranged; otherwise, it is preferable for the centre to be wholly self-contained. However, English-

speaking people do exist, and exist in considerable numbers, who are good classroom teachers of English as a foreign language. Most of them do not thrust themselves forward for promotion; nor do they get much encouragement to do so. For teaching skill, and interest in classroom activity and in children, count for less than theoretical knowledge, especially of the more controversial parts of modern linguistics, when it comes to promotion in the university world. This is understandable; and the tradition of appointing for such reasons continues to perpetuate itself long after what it leads to has become plain: the so-called training of teachers who turn out not to be teachers, who can manipulate technical terms but cannot interest a class. It is no answer to say that teachers who undergo a purely theoretical course may already be experienced and trained: if they are, they too need to discuss things with those who understand a teacher's work.

The careless reader may choose to interpret these words as an attack on linguistics in the training of language-teachers. This they are emphatically not. A place must of course be secured for linguistics, among several other theoretical studies, in a training programme. But it should not be a central place, only an important one. The linguist cannot be allowed to sit on a throne and king it absurdly over everyone else; if he is there he should abdicate, and then drop in regularly as a welcome guest.

Good teachers can be found who are interested in teaching and willing to try to help others to teach. They need not be experts in modern linguistics or deeply versed in psychology; they need not even be skilled phoneticians or highly knowledgeable about apparatus. But their theoretical knowledge should be reasonably sound as far as it goes. This requirement reduces the number who qualify, and a requirement about attitude does so still further: that they should have no sort of scorn for what is often termed 'theoretical' knowledge. They should recognise the value of certain aspects of studies such as psychology, literary criticism, and linguistics; otherwise, they will not be able to work successfully side by side with non-teachers whose specialised contributions may be corner-stones in the training programme.

In Britain, the lack of senior posts in this field of teacher-training discourages recruitment of staff. Opportunities are

greater elsewhere, even in linguistics. From time to time a new post in the teaching of English as a foreign language is created, and it is usually evident that a lectureship is thought enough. The subject lacks status, and will continue to so long as it is looked upon as a branch of something else.

For the training of teachers of English as a foreign language is not a branch of linguistics, though the study of language should enter into it. Nor is it a branch of psychology or of literature, though literary and psychological studies must play their part. It is not an offshoot of the training of teachers of English as a home language, for that is a dissimilar enterprise. It comes closer to the training of teachers of French, German, Spanish, and Russian in Britain: but not very close, because that can be on a smaller scale and for each language the circumstances of the teaching are fairly narrowly defined.

The tasks of training and study centres for teachers of English as a foreign language are unique partly because English is wanted almost everywhere. The centres must have a standing which matches the importance of their work. This standing is reflected to some extent by the size and qualifications of the staff. A high degree of independence is necessary too. The head of the centre must be able to talk on equal terms to the heads of major departments. In so far as the centres are established within the universities system, this clearly means that those who direct them must have professorial status; and outside, an appointment at a like salary level.

There is a world hunger and thirst for teachers of English, and for teacher-trainers also. What is Britain doing to satisfy it? Alas, not enough. Neither in the numbers trained nor (on the whole) in the sort of training provided is Britain's response to an urgent and widespread demand anything like adequate. The numerical failure is particularly glaring. Countries who look to Britain for a supply of teachers and teacher-trainers to help make their ambitious schemes for the teaching of English a success have to be met with an apologetic smile: 'Out of stock—try elsewhere.' The need is for hundreds annually, and not a few dozen: there is a trickle instead of a flood. Yet this is not because young people are uninterested in the teaching of English abroad: very many do take it up, though without much training, and a greater number would do so were suitable training more readily available. But they are not energetically sought out, just as those

who could train them are not energetically sought out. There seems to be a daunting government-level apathy about what Britain should do, even as a matter of self-interest, to ensure that English is taught as well as possible abroad, and to meet the export demand for English teaching and teacher-training services. The result is that big opportunities are being allowed to slip by.

If this were not so, there would be a stronger effort to establish an adequate number of training centres, instead of a tendency to discourage them from being set up. Small centres cannot make a sufficient mark. On the other hand, large centres are bound to have large administrative preoccupations. But the case against large centres is founded on a much more important consideration than this. It is undesirable that thought and instruction in this field should be dominated by a very few people in charge of a very few centres. It is preferable that a variety of views on training and research should be able to find expression in training programmes. 'Opening up' the field of enterprise in this way is bound to have an encouraging effect. A measure of competition between centres (of medium size) also brings stimulus, though it need not and should not exclude a high degree of cooperation.

Finally, the time to act in this matter is the present, and not some mythical future when the conditions are ideal for action. Procrastination is not only the thief of time: it steals opportunity.

THE LITERARY ELEMENT IN TEACHER EDUCATION

by Bruce Pattison

In most civilisations education was first institutionalised as a result of the invention of writing. This is not surprising, for speech is of supreme importance in human affairs, but it is only puffs of air and leaves no traces, except in the memories of the hearers; so that a means of recording it and preserving visible evidence of it had not only great practical advantages but ensured continuity of tradition. It was naturally into the hands of the custodians of community tradition—law-givers and priests—that education fell. By means of the new invention they were able to compile texts enshrining those traditions. Their successors interpreted the venerated texts, and, as the language of the texts became archaic and eventually ceased to be current anywhere, this involved linguistic study. Grammars and dictionaries were produced. They were considerable achievements in arranging systematically generalisations about the complex accretion of speech customs that constitute any much-used language; and memorising them—especially the grammars, which contain the most general statements about language structures—was the only means of learning the language that anybody could imagine. So education became a grammar grind leading to the venerated texts. It did not affect many people, and even they, like everybody else, learned to play their parts in life by joining in what was going on around them and relied on institutionalised education only for rather limited instruction.

Once societies began to change rapidly and new methods of production required new skills, following in father's footsteps was no longer adequate initiation into adult life. The community as a whole had to take increasing responsibility for its young people. Education had to extend its range. There were such constant additions to knowledge that its content had to be always expanding. So much that had to be done was new that it had to think less in terms of knowledge itself and more in

terms of skills. As societies became more complex it had even to help young people merely to live in them.

Yet the old narrow conception of education has survived many vicissitudes. The conservatism of institutions and the respect accorded to age has preserved it as a little enclave in a new world. Not that it has been quite immune from change. The sacred texts are now only the admired texts, and they are much greater in number—the invention of printing has indeed produced an alarming proliferation. Through sceptical ages that were devising new sciences of their own the wisdom of the ancients has worn less well than their art. The modern languages have had to be admitted to the Pantheon, and the poets, dramatists and novelists now occupy more attention than the philosophers and historians. But still the idea persists that the aim of learning a language is to read the best examples of its use. At the base of the educational pyramid the grammar grind continues—has indeed been rejuvenated by a change of name to ‘applied linguistics’ and the employment of machines in ‘laboratories’ (as temples are called in the contemporary Erewhon) to drill sentence patterns. At the top of the pyramid is the study of the history of literature—a rather mixed collection of great books to which qualities of style seem to have been a criterion for admission but in which poetry, drama and fiction predominate. Very few get as far up as that, but what goes on there has some influence at intermediate levels. Secondary school pupils read Shakespeare and Dickens and jump straight from rather elementary present-day French to Racine.

The great books are under attack, of course. Face-to-face contacts with people from other speech communities are so common in the modern world that there is a strong feeling that languages ought to be learned in order to be spoken. It is also recognised that some people learn languages in order to read technical publications, and short cuts to ability to do that are in demand.

Less articulate but probably more acute dissatisfaction with the inheritance of the past is grumbling under the surface in countries which have to use a European language for most of their education and for other internal purposes, and criticism has been most vocal in those countries that use English. When the literary kind of education then in vogue in England was imported into them, it was as good as any other for the minority

who received it, for there was very little technical development there then. Much of the seed scattered no doubt fell on stony ground, but where it took root it grew into something to be proud of—a new political consciousness and an infusion of new vigour into some of the Indian literatures. The books that were read may have been suitable for very few and attainable by them only at the cost of great effort, but they were very well worth reading.

This minority culture is rather irrelevant now. Technical development is in progress in all the new countries that use English, and education is expanding in every way—in numbers concerned, in scope and in range. English is not a luxury, but a practical necessity for learning how to do all the jobs in a community setting out on the road to an affluent society. Everybody needs English. As they drop off at different points on the route from primary school to post-graduate university study, they must have the English for the work they are going to do. For a scientist or technologist English must be a precision instrument, but he is not concerned with the cultural heritage of the language, not even with what is of universal value in it. 'What's Hecuba to him, or he to Hecuba?'

It is a rhetorical question, and the answer is so obvious as hardly to be worth giving. Of course, English must be regarded as what a language really always is, a means of doing things. The aim of learning it must be to talk fluently with other people who use it and to gain access to the knowledge available in it. Neither will come from reading Shakespeare or Shelley or Dickens, who do not belong to the contemporary world and were concerned with problems quite different from those of present-day students.

Let us agree, then, that we must enable our students to talk with anybody they are likely to want to talk with and we must enable them to pursue their studies through English. That is quite enough to attempt in the time available for language teaching; indeed, in the Indian sub-continent under prevailing conditions it may well prove too much as far as the majority of students are concerned. At least, that sets an objective, which is very useful. It helps to determine the kind of English to be taught. A language is not an all-purpose instrument, a jemmy to open all doors. The language used in a lecture on Physics, in a law-court, in a newspaper leader and in an argument with a taxi-driver may all be called English and may indeed have

some common characteristics, whoever are the participants, but there are large differences. Every group of people, every social activity, has its conventions, and its language is one of them. One must have the tools for the job. Knowing the kind of people one is likely to have to deal with and what one will want to do simplifies the task of learning a language: efforts can be concentrated on what is essential for one's purposes. The English to concentrate upon for students in the new countries is that generally used in conversation and that to be found in the text-books for the subjects in the school curriculum.

It is more easily said than done. Presumably conversational English means the everyday speech of educated people: the local inter-tribal variety will be picked up all too quickly outside school. Where English is started in the primary school, primary school teachers, to be good models, will have to be much better speakers than most of them are now. That, however, is highly desirable, whatever plan is contemplated for the school course. They could only encourage acceptable pronunciation and intonation—acceptable, one would hope, anywhere in the English-speaking world, for speech habits, once formed, are hard to change, and every primary school child carries a scholarship to study overseas in his knapsack. The kind of conversation that will later turn out to be useful will be beyond young children. One supposes the children will have to be taught to read and write. No doubt the plan to be followed will list structures and systems common to all the English to be used in the curriculum later. That does not get us very far, because it does not tell us what the children are going to talk and read and write about. The same difficulty persists throughout the plan of campaign. A language is inseparable from the activities it furthers. A subject has to be learned through language, but the special language for it can be learned only by going through the process of mastering the subject. Provided the language is strictly controlled, new features being introduced gradually and with their meanings made quite clear by the context, a subject can be started with a very limited language indeed.¹ Primary school teachers have the advantage that they

teach all subjects, but they would need a good deal of training and a lot of material in strictly graded language. The prospect of getting secondary school specialists to concern themselves so closely with language is not very bright: one would have to hope language would not require so much attention after a primary school course that was really teaching English all the time. Where English is begun in the secondary school or very little before it, a similar policy would be very difficult to implement. It would require a formidable amount of organising in the most favourable circumstances, though theoretically it has much to commend it where English becomes the medium of instruction before the end of the primary school. It would virtually eliminate language teaching as a separate activity, except for everyday speech, which would be continued throughout the secondary school, for talking in lessons in various subjects could hardly prepare for lively conversation. And that is where one begins to feel something is missing. What would the pupils talk about in these lessons in colloquial English? A language must have content as well as form. Rehearsing common situations seems to be an activity that would soon pall. One suspects some rather dreary information about the English way of life would creep in, though what that could be it is difficult to imagine, since the English speech-community is very diverse and scattered. What, for that matter, would they read about? It is all very well to allot to English periods reading and writing, but there has to be something to read and write about. It does not seem likely that much more reading and writing than at present would be done in the learning of various subjects of the curriculum. And here a really serious doubt begins to obtrude. The greatest handicap African university students suffer at present is their slow and ineffective reading. This plan for functional English would do nothing to counteract it—it might even make it worse. No intensive teaching of better and faster reading at any stage would meet this objection. People read well because they are habitual readers, and they developed the habit of reading at every opportunity because they found satisfaction in it. Motivation is extremely important. It is all very well to plan what is good for people, but nothing will come of it unless they cooperate. It is what people want to do that really matters. The important function of education is to induce them to want what is desirable. The test of its success

is their behaviour afterwards. The plan for language learning just described is preoccupied with instruction and skills. But technical efficiency has not turned out to be the major problem of the new countries. Living together in new circumstances has proved a much more serious problem. Social adjustment and values cannot be neglected in any education that is to be an adequate preparation for life. The defect of the approach to language teaching under review is that it is too superficial, too much concerned with information and skills and too little with motivation.

For that reason it would not produce the results aimed at. The language would not strike deep enough roots in the learners' psychology. When a person has to be educated through a second language and to spend most of his professional life with it, he has to become virtually bilingual. Within its own domain the second language has to be as much his own as the first language is in its domain. This is difficult, but there is nothing to be gained by ignoring the magnitude of the problem. The five-year-old starting the primary school may grow into a post-graduate student going overseas to study fifteen or sixteen years later. The equipment necessary for that is a hard goal to work towards.

It is not going to be reached unless from the outset the child 'internalises' the language, to borrow the term some psychologists use, as he does the first language. Here thinking about language in isolation, or about form apart from content, may be harmful. To make a language widely available its recurring patterns have to be graded and practised. There is a temptation to drill them abstracted from the contexts of situation in which they occur in real speech. All the psychological evidence is against the probability of such drills transferring to ability to use speech and to interpret it in actual situations. Speech as part of behaviour is too unlike the mechanical response to cues that constitute drill. Certainly the speech the learner hears should be controlled, so that he can concentrate on one habit at a time, but he must also perceive how the feature he is to learn operates in the behaviour of the speakers and then try it out as part of his own activity in a similar situation. He must, indeed, observe total situations, appreciate the roles played by the participants and then identify himself with one or more of the roles in similar situations. If the roles are such as he would want to play, their

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accompanying language becomes identified with his own interests and a medium for his own fantasy and thinking. This is the process by which a first language becomes an intimate part of an individual's behaviour, and a second language must try to follow the same course.

The early stages are quite easy to manage in the classroom. Demonstration and pictures can provide plenty of contextualised speech. But very soon the learner has to be taken outside the classroom to get realistic situations. He cannot actually be taken into the environment in which the language operates—it is not on the doorstep; and if he could be, he would be confused by the speech going on there. He can be taken in imagination, however. He has already experienced how imagination 'bodies forth the forms of things unknown': he has heard stories. And stories are not like real life in one respect: they can be contrived. They need contain nothing that would puzzle him, either linguistically or otherwise. And once he can learn to read he can get at them for himself. This is the great incentive to reading.

There is another value in stories. The learner needs experience of people in situations to see how the language works, and stories give him just that. He will outgrow the first stories, but he will not outgrow his love of stories. Nobody ever does. Everybody is interested in people. Even in affluent societies the Sunday papers are read, though they do not obviously contribute to increased productivity. This interest is considered frivolous only because it comes naturally, while for some reason education is equated with hard work. But it is an essential part of growing-up. People need to contemplate life as it looks and feels as well as the abstractions of academic disciplines. They have to try and find patterns in the flux of sensation, to learn about human relationships, to form standards of conduct and values, and they do it by recalling experiences, anticipating them and sharing those of others. The first language plays a large part in this imaginative process from an early age. When one is going to have to live with a second language also, it must share responsibility for this kind of development, and it is by doing so that it becomes identified with individual interests and thinking.

Here then is the stuff from which to make good the deficiencies of functional English in an educational programme—fiction in which the learner can be involved, which presents life in the concrete and engages with his own interests. He has to identify

himself with it not only in imagination but by acting it out, by using the language he has acquired from it to express his own purposes. He can dramatise the stories he reads, first by merely reading the dialogue with others, then supplying dialogue of his own from speech heard previously, the amount of invention required gradually increasing. He can tell the stories from other points of view (Cinderella's own account of the ball, for instance), at first merely copying from the book, leaving out what is not appropriate and changing pronouns here and there, but gradually *inventing more and more and eventually even writing* stories and descriptions of his own that can use much of the language of the original or are otherwise suggested by it. He can discuss what he reads and, at higher levels, questions suggested by it. Reading is the core of a continuous language programme going to an advanced level. Oral and written work in plenty can be stimulated by it, and the learner cannot read too much, especially in the secondary school. There extensive reading is as important as intensive, and every resource should be used to encourage it. The chief means is to select material he can read and will want to read. The most promising is material that has human interest and *form*, even if the form is only that of a story with a plot.

Fiction and drama are literary forms, so we have returned to literature as the best content for a language course, but literature rather more narrowly defined and less exclusive in quality than has been customary in the past. What we have in mind, and what has really come to be the centre of attention in conventional literary courses, is what has sometimes been called imaginative literature, what De Quincey called the Literature of Power as opposed to the Literature of Knowledge—fiction, drama, poetry. This may be good or bad, simple or complex. One would not wish to use bad literature, but very simple material—a *single scene or a short story or a nursery-rhyme*—would be all one could begin with. The great books are for the end of the journey, perhaps only for the university. They have to be worked toward through specially written material, books written for young people and not very exacting contemporary books that will never figure in histories of literature. But it is of the nature of this kind of writing to supply its own contexts in showing people interacting in situations, so that the reader gains experience of specimens of the language contextualised. The

important consideration is that they should always be within the learner's linguistic and imaginative grasp and should be presented to him so as to lead him gradually forward all the time. It is for the teacher to attend to the linguistic grading and to see that features of the language are sufficiently practised and assimilated. The learner's attention can be mainly on the content, which will provide the motivation necessary to carry him through the long and arduous course.

Such teaching, however, requires well-educated teachers. They will be difficult to get, but the only way of securing and maintaining standards of English is to aim at getting them and to organise the facilities for preparing them for their tasks. Temporary measures to shore up collapsing standards or to deal with rapid increases in school populations should not be allowed to obstruct long-term plans for a teaching profession of high quality. The developing countries cannot manage with poorer teachers than the advanced countries; they need better teachers, for their difficulties are greater. The term 'well-educated teachers' was used deliberately. The whole higher education of a prospective teacher is relevant. Professional training only helps him to realise potential gained from his own education. Graduates who have specialised in English in the new English-speaking African universities generally have most of the potential, for their undergraduate courses will have included both language and literature, and the combination is essential. Parts of Asia are not so fortunate: candidates may not have a very good command of English. Very little improvement in the teaching of English can be expected there without a radical reform of education as a whole and a reassessment of the functions of English, so that the number of students of English in the universities may be reduced but they may reach a higher standard. In Africa recruiting more specialists to the teaching profession would make a great difference.

Some solid systematic study of both the language and its literature is indispensable equipment for a teacher at any level beyond the most elementary, but any equipment has to be used properly; otherwise it may be an actual impediment, like a weapon that keeps tripping its wearer up. Experience as a student often transforms the human activities that are the object of study into a mass of inert information, and specialisation makes them more inhuman by considering them separately

from the rest of life. The temptation is to hand on the information acquired. Professional education is necessary to generalise, from the diverse experience that has been gained of many modes of language and literature, concepts and intuitions about the nature of the activities involved and their universal significance. The discipline nurtured in the lecture-room and the library has to survive in the market place; has to justify itself to young people who have no ambition to become linguists or literary critics and whose experience of life is still very limited; its value for their development has to be assessed. The prospective teacher has now to imagine what he was like more than five years ago and put himself in the place of those he is going to help to learn. The study of education, especially its psychological foundations, contributes to the radical readjustment necessary, but this has to be directed through a rethinking of his main discipline to practical applications in the classroom. The student needs a guide who can fuse together his previous educational experience, new ideas about education and adolescent development and appreciation of the personal relationships involved in particular teaching situations. Theory and practice must be closely related at this stage. It is as well if as many as possible of those responsible for his theoretical studies can go with him into the classroom. What happens there has to be traced back to its theoretical implications, and what is learned in theory is professionally useful to him only in so far as it affects his conduct as a teacher. Education is rather like religion in one respect: many people are honestly unconscious of the discrepancy between the principles they profess and their actual behaviour. Education need not be almost entirely empirical: the more the details are thought out in terms of fundamental principles the better its effects will ultimately be. But philosophy, psychology, linguistics and literary theory have to be felt on the pulses and acted out to become relevant.

For a prospective language-teacher the transition from student to teacher may be assisted by studies of development in autobiographies and novels. Wordsworth's *Prelude*, Camara Laye's *The African Child*, the early part of *The Mill on the Floss*, *Huckleberry Finn* and *Tom Sawyer*, and part of Joyce Carey's work, are examples that occur to one immediately. Using such texts to give to airy psychological nothings a local habitation and a name would probably be of interest to students trained in other

than literary disciplines, but it is especially suitable for the latter, who will already be acquainted with many of the relevant texts.

A good deal of the preparation for teaching English in secondary schools can be based on texts to be used in the classroom. Their selection can be discussed in relation to studies of adolescent interests and experience in the classroom. Group examination of them to determine the chief effects their authors intended can lead to consideration of the means of realising those effects with particular classes the students are teaching. Some will present few problems, and it will be a question only of giving them to the pupils and talking about them from time to time as the pupils read them for themselves. Even with these, however, the techniques of class discussion, including reference to the text and reading extracts to illustrate points, have to be acquired by a prospective teacher, and there will sometimes be important parts of a book that should be studied by the class as a whole, though most of the book can be left to individual reading out of class. In addition to this extensive reading with occasional intervention by the teacher, progress in ability to interpret will have to be assisted by intensive study of more difficult material. The best methods of presenting new works have to be considered, for the initial impact plays a great part in securing attention and a desire to understand. Some have to be heard to make their proper effect; some are best acted out, so that the situations and the characters can be more vividly visualised; others can be taken in with the eye, and deeper understanding comes from discussion under an experienced leader, which the teacher must be, and closer reading stimulated by it. The choice of method has to grow from study of the work, of its nature and its author's intentions and the response he is seeking from the reader.

Reading aloud so as to hold interest and communicate at least the mood of a piece of prose or verse is an essential part of a language-teacher's equipment. It provides also a better incentive and practice ground for the improvement of the student's speech than contextless (and therefore meaningless) pronunciation and intonation exercises, though these may be introduced incidentally to deal with difficulties. Understanding can often be tested by discussion of the reading of a passage. Models are helpful, and a comparison of different readings by

expert readers is often revealing. Plenty of recordings of well-known short pieces of literature are now available. The tape-recorder also enables a student to hear and criticise his own speech and reading.

Recordings of plays have a value of their own. They serve not so much as models for the student himself as attempted realisations of the dramatist's intentions. The text of a play is only a script for the performance the author envisaged when he wrote it. Where there is no theatre operating within the European tradition, the teacher will have to reproduce the conventions of that kind of theatre for his pupils somehow. Films are not a satisfactory substitute, but they do illustrate styles of acting related to the contemporary state of the tradition, and they may help the study of plays from which they are derived. Some elementary skill in dramatic production is more useful for actual teaching. Unless the student has some dramatic experience during his undergraduate course, he will not be able to attempt anything ambitious—probably not even school productions to be performed before an audience—but he should be able to manage simple classroom drama in which it is not acting but speaking in character that is important. He should also be trained to *guide the dramatisation of stories his class is reading*, and be made aware of the possibilities of unscripted and impromptu drama and miming. Very often a situation becomes clearer if it is translated *from a summary on the printed page* into an interchange among characters with whom the pupils can identify themselves or whom they can visualise from experience in ordinary life and knowledge gained from previously encountered imaginative representations. Language to express one's own notions and feelings, too, sometimes comes more readily if one acts out the situation one is trying to talk or write about or for. To take a simple illustration, words describing various kinds of human movement—*strolling, striding, stealing, hurrying*—are more easily demonstrated than explained; and, to find the word to describe how somebody moved on a particular occasion, pretending to be that person, or getting somebody else to do so and watching him, is quite helpful. A teacher's use of dramatic techniques in his teaching will depend on his own dramatic ability and experience. When a student has had some dramatic experience and is interested in drama he should be encouraged to exploit his abilities and *shown how to use the*

latent histrionic talents of his pupils, who will often have strong dramatic traditions in their own culture that can be drawn into the service of their learning of English.

A good presentation is sometimes all a work needs to make its effect, but usually fuller understanding comes from discussion. Directing attention to significant features of the text in the most enlightening order, and keeping the whole on view while examining the detail, is a very exacting affair, and learning to handle different works with various classes in a variety of circumstances takes a great deal of time and thought. The student can only be started on the process, made self-critical and sensitive to the reactions of his classes. He must be taught not only to plan the important questions to guide the discussion but to use the replies he gets and turn them towards his purposes. He is reading with his pupils, helping them to read more deeply for themselves in the future, urging them to deeper penetration into the implications of the text. His own interpretation is the basis, and unless he is already an effective reader he will not achieve much as a teacher. The aim of professional training is to enable him to induce in his pupils perceptions similar to his own, in so far as this is possible for their limited experience. They have to be actively engaged: interpretation is not a passive role. It is learning that matters, not teaching. Teaching is guidance and motivation for the efforts of the learners. The teacher asks questions not so much to get the answers as to draw attention to features of the text that might be missed and to prompt thinking about it. Similar discussions of books read by the pupils unaided help transposition to reading habits in general of what has been learned through intensive guided study of texts. The teacher must appreciate the psychological processes involved and have the technique to promote them.

A text provides something to talk about and so practises language. It can also suggest other exercises in using language, and the exploitation of its possibilities is one of the skills to be learned in preparing to teach. Learning to read it aloud expressively is good speech training. It can be dramatised, which means changing it in places and supplementing it with speech previously encountered in situations similar to those suggested by the text. Oral discussion can lead to written composition employing the language of the text slightly differently—for example, telling a story from another point of view or recount-

ing similar incidents from the pupil's own experience, which has already been appealed to in interpreting the text initially. Written composition may have to be followed by remedial language work: in stretching their resources to say what they want to say pupils are likely to make mistakes, and it is wise not to discourage them from trying to express themselves and not to inhibit fluency by making a fuss about trivial errors. Important mistakes will have to be eradicated. Once they are pointed out, exercises that will require the correct usage will have to be set (not mechanical exercises, which are useless, but small problems of free composition that cannot be solved without use of the language items in question). No doubt some reference back to the student's own language studies will be necessary to decide what are the important points to concentrate upon and to determine how they relate to various structures and systems of the language as a whole. But at the secondary school level, which is where most graduates will teach, there can be no question of a graded course based on an analysis of the language: if a structural framework has not been firmly fixed during the six or seven years of primary schooling, work at the secondary school level is impossible. The acquisition of new language cannot be planned at this stage—though the rate at which it is met should be controlled. Difficulties have to be dealt with as they arise. It is therefore dangerous to trouble students with the outlines of any scheme of linguistic analysis. Not only will it be very incomplete because of the little time available, but it will probably be handed on and the student will talk about the language instead of getting the pupils to use it. At this stage attention should be directed chiefly to content, and language should be regarded as a means of realising a speaker's or writer's intentions rather than a complex of systems abstracted from social activity—a conception that is useful for planning elementary learning. What the student needs is plenty of practice in dealing with the kinds of language problem that arise most frequently in the reading and writing the pupils should be doing in the secondary school. The literature they read should be the heart of their course and the stimulus for most of their speech and writing, though not to the exclusion of any of their interests in real life.

Non-graduate teachers have a longer course of professional preparation, but they enter it at an earlier stage. In many

countries they have not even had secondary schooling. Their general education must therefore be continued during the two or three years they are students in a college for those intending to teach. They will not usually become specialists in any discipline; in most second-language countries they will have to teach English and to teach the other parts of the primary school curriculum mainly in English. The prospect of their reaching even the minimum tolerable competence at this after two or three years preparation must often seem slight when they arrive at college. The English of some of them will be both limited and insecure. Remedial work—i.e. reteaching of what they should have learned in the primary school—will be necessary. Pressure on the time-table from other disciplines will suggest that little more can be done about English. Yet they will have to teach English, and voices may have penetrated the walls of their college to whisper that to teach it successfully they should sit at the feet of some pedant handing on a new revelation of the structure of English or even a comparison between English and the languages of the students. When this whisper has not been heard there will be a temptation to a lot of tedious language exercises, plodding through a few simplified selections from books the students could never hope to read and training to work through a widely used course with primary school classes. A few up-to-date colleges may present the even more alarming spectacle of endless repetition of meaningless sounds, phrases and sentences into tape-recorders and frantic attempts to copy down and reproduce statements about a language the students know only very imperfectly. In neither case is students' English likely to benefit, and the effect on their teaching will be disastrous.

It is obvious that where a student's English is unacceptable as coming from a teacher, improving it must have priority. Where it is fairly correct but limited it will have to be extended. No serious academic study can be attempted with either type of student. Linguistics or psychology or philosophy as they are presented to university students would be unintelligible to them. Yet they need some notions within the domains of those disciplines to become satisfactory teachers. And remedial work may be discouraging to them and not secure much cooperation from them.

A possible solution of these problems is to centre much of the

work on what the students will be teaching. To say this is not to advocate reversion to the older teacher-training which merely went through a generally used course and instructed the student in routines for stereotyped lessons. The principles of selection, grading and presentation can be discussed in such a manner as to convey to the student a great deal about language he can understand when presented with reference to his specific teaching material and situations but could not understand if first presented as theory. Moreover, in discussing such practical matters, details of English usage and standards of speech by the teacher have to be dealt with, and this indirectly acts on the student as a remedy for the weaknesses of his own English. This treatment of theory as perspective for behaviour in concrete situations has the great merit that the tutor accompanies the student through the whole process of transforming the abstractions of a plan into interchanges involving speech between living people in the classroom. It removes the temptation to think separately of different aspects of successful teaching, as might happen if they are discussed separately by different lecturers. The teacher need be no less aware of the progression of language items in his plan because his putting of it into effect concentrates on interesting the children in stories and getting them to speak and to act. The clothing of the linguistic framework with meaningful speech has been done for him to a large extent by the selector of the stories, but the student can appreciate why they are written as they are or have been chosen. He could also choose some himself to accompany points in the plan. There should be no dichotomy in his thinking about language and about the content it carries, about what habits have to be acquired and the activity by which they are acquired. Throughout his preparation there will have been continual movement from linguistic analysis and grading to telling stories and acting out scenes in the language to be practised and on to controlled and then gradually freer expression using that language.

In discussing the presentation of reading material, and in actually dealing with it in the classroom, the student will be concerned with literary form—e.g. transposition from narrative to drama—and with intention—the author's point of view, the effect of rhythm and the choice of one word or phrase rather than another, etc.—though with simple material for young

children he may not, perhaps should not, think of what he is doing in such terms. To make him more aware of these matters he needs material suitable for his own level, and, if he is not already a habitual reader, he must become one, since part of his responsibility is to encourage reading by his pupils. Probably one of the reasons why he does not find much pleasure in reading is his slow speed, a very common deficiency among African students. Exercises to increase reading speed and to teach different kinds of reading, including skimming, are quite useful, but they have to be followed up by extensive reading. The kind of work required is much the same as for the secondary school, but the material must be rather more adult. African authors and authors from areas in some respects similar, e.g. the West Indies, will usually prove to be successful. Other works should be chosen for their appeal to the students rather than for their reputations, and they should not be difficult either in language or in cultural assumptions. If a student likes detective or adventure stories, he is better employed reading a lot of them than unwillingly plodding through a few books considered good for him but boring to him and in the main beyond his comprehension. Studies of children should form part of his professional preparation, though a rather simpler selection would have to be made than would be appropriate for graduates. All this extensive reading should be the object of group discussion under the teacher's leadership, even if all the students do not read the same books. The teacher should know how the students are getting on and should be prepared to help them over difficulties and remove any misconceptions. It is likely, indeed, that unless the teacher shows he considers wide reading important there will be some resistance to it, for African students are very unwilling to stray beyond the minimum requirements for an examination. The aim, however, should be to counteract this characteristic by making it easy and pleasant for the students to read. Good reading habits are the foundation of this, and they must be reinforced by resourcefulness on the part of the teacher in making the books appear attractive.

To enable the students to get more out of their reading there should also be intensive interpretation by means of group discussion of a variety of short texts. For reasons already given in referring to work at other levels, it is important that impressions should be associated with expression and that the

students should be encouraged to write. This will extend their command of the language and have psychological value too, as well as giving them greater insight as readers.

Self-education is part of a teacher's preparation to teach others. Literature has the same value for him as for the pupils he is going to teach. The way he is taught will affect the way he teaches. Teacher education is therefore a very important task. Unfortunately it does not always attract the best members of the teaching profession. In some places they prefer to go into secondary schools. Those who might prepare graduates are discouraged by the higher prestige of the purely academic. Yet rare intellectual and personal qualities are desirable in those responsible for teacher education. Those concerned with language teaching should have not only experience of the sort of teaching their students are going to do but good linguistic, literary and educational qualifications. The combination is difficult to obtain: nevertheless it is essential for the best results. If the tutor cannot show his students how to succeed in the classroom, his influence will be limited. Immediate success, however, is worthless unless it furthers long-term educational aims. It must be achieved by understanding the nature of what is being taught and the reason for teaching it. If the student is to be a language-teacher, literary and linguistic insight are equally necessary. The traditional union of language and literature is well justified, though both need to be reinterpreted as constituents in educational programmes. A language is not an objective to be pursued for its own sake: it is a means of pursuing various human activities. Those that are not covered by the abstractions of different subjects in the curriculum are best learned through the uses of language that are related to literature. Closed shops in these matters are ridiculous. There is no reason why language and literature should not be studied together, each by its own methods, but mutually enlightening. But in teacher education they have to be placed in an educational context. The supply of people who can do this is limited. To increase their number would do more than anything else to raise the standard of English where it is a second language. A liberal and humane conception of English in teacher education could make all the difference to the future of many countries in Africa and Asia.

TRAINING TO TEACH IN ENGLISH

by G. E. Perren

In many countries English is learnt in schools because later it will be used as a teaching medium. The children of immigrants in Britain, the United States, Australia and Canada, primary and secondary school pupils in Commonwealth Africa, university students in India, Pakistan, or Malaya, and vocational and university students of the Middle East all need English as a vehicular language, through which they can learn other subjects. In other countries, where English is not used in the classroom for teaching or lecturing, it is still learned by students to provide access to technical and specialist literature necessary for advanced studies, as well as for international communication about specialised subjects.

To a very great extent—perhaps to an educationally dangerous extent—English is being used as a teaching medium in classes where pupils have a far from secure knowledge of the language and have been ill-prepared for the transition from learning English as an isolated ‘subject’ to using it as a medium. It is often used as a medium by teachers whose own English is inadequate. Some of the consequences are well known. In African secondary schools limited English leads to over-emphasis on memorisation and learning by heart, amply demonstrated by the English used in examination scripts in content subjects such as history and geography. Pupil participation in the classroom is limited; teaching appears overacademic. Moreover, where the teaching of English as a subject continues side-by-side with its use as a medium for other subjects, what is taught in English periods seems to have little connection with its practical use in collateral classes in geography, history or science. In the universities of Africa and Asia where English is used as a medium, students become over-dependent on too few text-books; their speed in reading English is too slow to permit comparative or selective reading or skimming. Limited understanding of spoken English by students leads to literal and un-

critical acceptance of, and perhaps even anxiety to have, an over-dogmatic and simplified presentation by lecturers. Often discussion is inhibited and a doctrinaire attitude which goes ill with higher education may be the direct consequence of education through a second language. The traditional seminar or tutorial becomes difficult, if not impossible. 'Bazaar notes', books of model answers, and the simplified guide to prescribed reading take the place of genuine study. Minds are closed rather than opened.

Teachers who use English as a medium for general subjects in secondary schools, or for science or technology in universities, may have little real insight into the language difficulties or limitations of their students. Often enough they know that there *are* difficulties, but these may be confused with the general problem of understanding the content of the subject. It is often almost impossible to tell how far poor overall performance in a subject is the result of specific weakness in English. This problem becomes more difficult to resolve as competence increases, for the evidence of what a student knows often lies only in his facility to talk or write about it.

It is clear that comparatively few out of the very large number of teachers who use English as a medium are likely to have had any special training in the business of teaching through English as a second language, whether they are themselves native speakers of English or not, simply because a rationale for such training scarcely exists. In some cases it may be unreasonable to expect them to have any: specialist teachers of science or other subjects at an advanced level in universities may legitimately expect their students to have acquired the necessary language proficiency before undertaking their studies. In secondary schools, however, quite often the language of the subject is the subject—as in science or geography. In primary schools, whatever the medium of instruction, the development of general language skill should be a major educational aim informing all subjects. Given that English is being learned in order to be used as a medium, and that the greatest exposure to English (and perhaps opportunity for learning it) often takes place in periods where it is used as a medium and not taught as a 'subject', it would be as well if more attention were paid both to teaching it through its use and also to adjusting its use at many stages to the English proficiency of the pupils. To do this

is difficult unless such proficiency is known (i.e. has been measured) in terms of communicative skills, a comparatively rare situation.

A special and rather more tractable aspect of English-medium teaching is the deliberate use of English as a medium in the initial stages of infant or primary education, thus using it in order to teach it. It is certainly arguable that younger children can learn a new language only through its use and the fact that they do so is well attested.¹ This approach is implicitly recognised by such terms as 'situational teaching', where the avowed aim is to 'create' a situation in which language can be practised as purposeful communication. Up to a point, contrived situations which simulate reality can be useful. Imaginary shops can be established in the classroom, games can be played in English, but genuine reality comes only from having completely new experiences through the new language—in short, from learning new material in it and in no other language. At an early age this can be a powerful aid to language learning.

This chapter examines briefly the needs of teachers who must use English as a medium in various situations: in universities, in secondary schools, in primary schools. Under the last heading, a detailed description of one particular training scheme is given to illustrate some of the techniques used.

UNIVERSITY TEACHERS

University teachers as such are not normally trained to teach at all, presumably because it is assumed that their students have been trained to learn. This may be an even more dubious assumption where a second language is used than when the language is the mother tongue. Few university teachers would deny that they must always face problems of communication; many consciously strive to overcome them. Some of these problems arise from the subject itself being intricately involved in the values attached to language—as in philosophy or logic. Others arise from the need to attach new meanings to old words or to refine and develop crude concepts—as in science. Still more originate from the desire to present arguments which must be hedged with conditions and contingencies; many result from

¹ See H. H. Stern, *Foreign Languages in Primary Education: The teaching of foreign or second languages to younger children* (UNESCO, 1963), chs. 8, 18.

then advise university teachers on their presentation of lectures. In Britain, dons who appear on television are 'produced'—apparently with considerable success—by professionals whose job it is to assess what the audience can take and to persuade the lecturer to adapt his style and material to his audience. On a more limited and defined scale the same kind of service would be well worth while in many universities. Technically, of course, communications advisers would be concerned not only with helping lecturers to cast their discourse within the probable limits of their students' linguistic comprehension, but also with assessing the outstanding needs of students in relation to their studies. They might also be useful in planning (although not necessarily in teaching) auxiliary or remedial English. Recordings of lectures, especially on videotape, would provide material for analysis which, with some limited researches into reactions, might provide an excellent starting point for an assessment of communication difficulties. If it is impracticable to train university staff as teachers, it is by no means impossible to give them the opportunity to see and hear themselves as their students did. And if such a suggestion smacks of theatrical technique, why not? Few actors would dare to perform on an empty stage before a large and presumably intelligent audience, as some professors do, without a great deal of careful rehearsal. Fewer still would write their own monologues completely unaided, or subject to no external criticism.

While scientists especially are often criticised by non-scientists for using English which is unnecessarily involved, long-winded and difficult to understand, it must be remembered that advice to them to simplify their English may also imply simplifying their science to an unacceptable degree. How far the student must learn the language of science, or how far the teacher of science should learn to use plain English, can only be decided by observation. Probably results could not be generalised to apply to all teachers. Although some elderly or more senior academics might bridle at being helped to communicate better by being 'produced', younger ones might be only too glad to have some help, or at least to study in private videotape recordings of their own performance in the lecture-room.

In some countries the problem is assumed to be soluble only by bringing the students' English up to the level of that of the

lecturers. This appears to be begging the question by assuming that the English of lecturers is already as well adapted as it can be. There may indeed be a need for pre-university or remedial courses in English for students. But where these exist they are mostly taught by English 'specialists', who have little direct contact with the vocational or professional needs of students, and who often assume that the teaching of English can be separated from the use to which it is to be put. There are but few evidences of teaching materials constructed with reference to the teaching needs of the various disciplines in which English will be the medium; fewer still of precise preparation for particular courses or lecturers.

SECONDARY TEACHERS

Where English is the medium of secondary education, as in *Commonwealth Africa*, the language of the subject may be the subject. In physics, chemistry, biology and other sciences pupils may have to learn a taxonomy and a new terminology. Despite the apparent problems (often related to spelling rather than meaning) the actual vocabulary is seldom a difficulty. Purely technical terms, with precise and limited meanings, can easily be learned—or at least as easily learned in a second language as in the mother tongue.¹ There is in fact no particular need for the science teacher to learn how to teach the meaning of *carbohydrate* from any linguistic point of view, although he must of course teach it as part of his science. Difficulties are more likely in establishing the scientific meaning of *work*, *energy*, *property* and the like, where such words are already 'known' with more general meanings or, if not, will soon acquire them. No doubt, too, there are structures which are commoner in scientific writing than in other kinds of English, although it appears that very few are specific to science. For example, *It is considered that* is more likely than *I think*, while *A substance is described as...if...* seems preferred to *When...then...* No doubt passives proliferate, but not entirely irresponsibly, and not only in science.

The teacher of science or history or geography in English is inevitably a teacher of English if only because he is a linguistic informant; not only of spoken English (by his example and by

¹ But cf. ch. 1, pp. 35-6 above, where this problem is considered by J. A. Bright.

history or geography texts with the discrimination and speed they require: if not, they may read them with the same earnestness as *Julius Caesar* or *Pride and Prejudice*.

(f) *Writing in English*. A careful examination of what may reasonably be expected in composition skills at any particular level. In many situations, subject-teachers either expect essay-type work far beyond the linguistic capabilities of their pupils, or have little idea of how objective-type questions and 'quizzes' can be used to assess knowledge of the subject without introducing an unfair and unnecessary linguistic load.

After such a course, which should be closely related to the substance of the subject which the teacher is being trained to teach, there may well be some pointed questions about what goes on in the English lessons. Well and good, for it seems very clear that in many places there is a great deal of irrelevance going on. However, it is worth recalling once again that the pupil, if only because of the time he spends in them, has much more opportunity in the English-medium classes to learn to use language than he ever gets in the English-subject classes. If the English-subject teacher thinks he can separate skill in language from knowledge of any particular subject, the English-medium teacher can often have no such illusion. The only evidence he has of his pupil's knowledge of history or geography is how he talks, writes or reads about it in English.

PRIMARY TEACHERS

English is often introduced as a medium in primary schools simply because, with English-medium teaching inevitable at the secondary stage, it seems as well to begin as soon as possible. In some ways it appears easier to coordinate English-medium teaching at the primary than at the secondary stage, since often one class-teacher takes many subjects in the primary school, while in secondary schools there may be some staff specialisation from the beginning. Thus, the primary teacher should have a clearer idea of his pupils' language proficiency, as he spends most of his time with the same class. However, a specially acute difficulty often lies in the teacher's own inadequate English, especially in Africa. Lowering levels at which English is used often means that teachers themselves have had little more

and out-of-date classroom methods which had become almost indissolubly associated with the use of Asian languages in lower primary classes. Thus the project was intended to promote a fundamental pedagogical as well as linguistic change.

Once the total use of English had been decided, it was realised that very thorough retraining of teachers must accompany the development and production of teaching materials. The whole curriculum had to be covered, and teachers were to be equipped for the total range of infant and lower primary work, since all was to be taught in English. An obvious criterion for course materials was their teachability by potential staff. Thus the teacher-training scheme would assist the validation of the whole programme, whose complex aims included the injection into the schools of improved attitudes towards teaching younger children, increased supervision of schools and a reorganisation of the curriculum.

The full details of the course designed for the children must be omitted here, although it formed the basis of the training received by the teachers. A full year's in-service training was undertaken, and the first intake consisted of twenty-five teachers of Standard I, all Indian, Pakistani or Goan women. All were experienced teachers, and only six had not previously received formal teacher-training. Within a term, the number of teachers being trained increased to fifty. All these taught a full school time-table with their own classes of children in the mornings and attended classes at the Special Centre on four afternoons a week for a total of six or seven hours. The whole complex in the first two years normally included a training staff of four who were training fifty teachers who taught about 2,000 children daily. The training staff were assisted in supervision work by primary school inspectors. This arrangement meant that the training staff were able to see the effects of their work, not only on the teachers, but on the children, with the least possible delay. The effects of an afternoon's work at the Special Centre might be observed in the schools on the following day. As there was no unnecessary waiting to observe results, there could be little excuse for delay in adjusting training to teachers' needs. The training staff inevitably became concerned not only with the teachers' progress, but with that of the children; this close involvement imposed a highly desirable sense of responsibility on all concerned.

The overall object was to construct, in as much detail as necessary, course materials for the whole curriculum, to be taught in English—which at the same time would teach English. As they were developed, these materials had to be fed to the teachers in training. To check their effectiveness in the classroom, it was decided to have them tried out by a pilot class just ahead of the main body of experimental classes. For this task a skilled infant teacher was chosen who had a critical ability above the average of the other teachers. Her task was to use the first draft of material for her own teaching and report back on its suitability for general use and on its effectiveness with her own class. Her class could also be observed closely by the staff. She taught a normal Standard I one week ahead of the others, which provided just enough time for a quick revision of materials before they were issued to the other teachers.

In the six or seven hours a week available for in-service work at the Special Centre, two hours were allocated to practice in spoken English, two hours for making apparatus (essential with infant classes) and one hour each for general infant method and for special language method. An hour was available for extra work of various kinds as required. The in-service course was planned to last for three terms. During the first two terms each teacher was expected to attend Special Centre classes regularly as well as teach a full time-table to her own class in school during the mornings under regular supervision. During the third term, however, she was not required to attend training sessions at the Centre unless she wished, but was still regularly supervised in her teaching and supplied with teaching materials and notes on its use. If her spoken English was still weak she might be asked to attend special classes to improve it. This relaxation of formal training was deliberately designed to wean teachers away from over-dependence on authority once they knew their work. Teachers being 'phased out' of training were, however, always encouraged to come to the Special Centre to meet other teachers and pass on their experience, and even to visit their classrooms in the schools when they were teaching. Thus the whole year's in-service training was planned to begin by being rigorous and intensively controlled, but to become progressively less tightly directed, and to end by emphasising social and professional rather than disciplinary ties. This policy assumed that initially only an authoritarian approach could

introduce the drastic changes in the curriculum and methods which were required, but that good teaching eventually would come from developing in teachers considerably more independence than they had been hitherto accustomed to or trained for.

It should perhaps be stressed that this unusually closely integrated organisation of teacher-training and development of teaching materials was only intended to be temporary. After a year's work it was intended that a reasonably tried-out first year's programme could be handed on to the regular teacher-training institutions who would then incorporate it in their normal courses for initial training of new teachers. When this happened, it was intended that the Special Centre would turn its attention to the development of materials for second-year pupils, then progressively to third- and fourth-year pupils and so on. In fact, of course, the knowledge by the teachers in training that they were actively participating in the development of new teaching materials and techniques gave them a much greater motivation than could be expected of normal student-teachers in training. But the moral may be worth remembering: student-teachers will react with enthusiasm if persuaded that even *their* experiences in the classroom can contribute usefully to new teaching techniques.

Special Centre teachers in training were supplied liberally with written aids. Each had for reference a plan of the intended syllabus in English and in general subjects for the term ahead. The English syllabus listed all the basic vocabulary and patterns, normally in their expected teaching order. It was divided into stages, each covering three or four weeks' work, but there was no attempt to divide it into lessons, since this would have imposed too much rigidity. It included explanatory notes, but no detailed instructions on teaching method. The aim of this syllabus was to show the minimum of vocabulary and structures which had to be taught in each stage if the term's programme for all work was to be achieved.

The general syllabus outlined the work to be covered in all skills and activities, coordinated with the progression of language in the English syllabus. It was divided into similar stages to show the kind of work appropriate to the language development achieved.

A general collection of notes, to form eventually a handbook

on methods, was devised from term to term or from week to week and issued as required. General techniques were described with specific examples, but blow-by-blow detailed procedures for lessons were avoided. It seemed that these would be more likely to spoil a good infant teacher than improve a poor one. Standardised lessons were not aimed at, although all teachers had ample opportunity to discuss future lesson planning with the training staff, daily if required. Sections on number, activities, reading, apparatus, group organisation, etc., were included. The contents embodied contributions suggested by teachers in training.

In addition to these documents, which in a revised form eventually became the basis of a published course,¹ teachers were heavily supported by a weekly forecast of work, which gave them an advance summary of suggested work for the coming week. This had been first tried out by the pilot teacher and revised if necessary before being generally issued. It formed the outline of much of the in-service training and discussion in the Special Centre. The forecast contained space for each teacher to record her comments and assess her class's progress. It thus began as a programme and finished as a record of work. After use (and all teachers did not necessarily keep rigidly to the same time schedule), the annotated copies were returned to the Centre staff so that they formed a cumulative record of work attempted by teachers in all classes, which was most valuable when final revisions of the syllabus were made, and the overall progress of the scheme considered.

There were a number of other activities which contributed to practical training. Recordings of lessons in classrooms were attempted, to be used later for discussion. Some of these proved very useful, although there were considerable technical problems in using microphones and tape-recorders in crowded classrooms, acoustically unsuitable for such recordings. Teachers were instructed in simple methods of individual testing, as much for the benefit of their morale as for that of the training staff, so that progress records in all 'subjects' could be kept for individual pupils.

Sufficient has probably been said to show that the training in methodology given to teachers was general to infants rather than specific to English. It was essential that pupils' proficiency in

¹ *The Peak Course* (Oxford University Press, Nairobi).

English should not always be seen in terms of particular linguistic skills. Similarly, teachers were judged according to their ability to teach number, handwork, hygiene, writing (and later reading) in English rather than according to their skill in implanting sentence patterns or conducting language drills.

One of the chief preoccupations of the training staff was the improvement of the teachers' own English. Good infant teaching required socialised teaching, often in groups, and always in relation to the children's interests, enthusiasms and developing skills. This demanded above all communication, not only between teacher and pupil, but between pupil and pupil. All excellent conditions, one might assume, for language development. The problem was to provide the initial skill and confidence, which in such circumstances would then inevitably permit rapid development of unselfconscious skill in speech.

A danger to this lay in the teachers' own lack of confidence in using English. So many had been told so often that their English was poor that they were probably consciously restricting their utterances in their classrooms to what they knew (or thought) to be safely accurate. There was a likelihood that this coyness might easily be transferred to the children, which would inhibit the active use of language which was desired. Many of them had originally been taught or trained in India or Pakistan and had almost pathological fears about 'incorrect grammar', for example. The training staff were less concerned about their syntax than about their pronunciation and use of stresses. There were thus two principles to be followed, slightly contradictory: to improve the range and quality of teachers' English; to destroy their self-consciousness about 'errors' in speaking. It was more important for the children to speak and to communicate, than to be accurate or correct in pronunciation and syntax. If the teachers could become more relaxed, possibly this attitude would be transferred to the children. Particularly it was useful to recall at times, that native-English children of five or six 'made mistakes': if Asian children sometimes made the same ones it was rather encouraging.

Throughout the course, the training staff had to face the need for 'de-training' teachers or replacing previously learned principles of method, acquired in a training college during a full-time course, by some newer ones. This indeed may be

a fundamental problem of all in-service courses. It is often only too easy to tell teachers that they have been teaching in the wrong way for many years. But to do so may dangerously weaken their morale by discrediting their whole earlier professional career. Great care seems to be needed to avoid stressing the 'wrongness' of what they have been doing before they are convinced of the 'rightness' of what they are learning to do. The development of new convictions should precede the destruction of old ones; language teaching, as well as language learning, is often improved by self-confidence. In the Special Centre, considerable care was taken not deliberately to criticise earlier training. As far as it affected language teaching, it had largely to be ignored, but on general pedagogics it sometimes provided a valid basis. Two teachers among the first group had previously received Montessori training, which contributed some useful ideas.

Most work at the Special Centre was conducted in discussion groups, and teachers assisted a good deal in the planning and development of course material for the schools. Small practice groups for the improvement of spoken English used tape-recorders (in the early days there was no language laboratory—that came later) and there was a small but useful library. There was good provision for the design and construction of teaching apparatus. Some afternoons developed into practical carpentry sessions, which were quite popular, although saris sometimes got snagged on saws.

Since much of the work being attempted seemed disruptive, if not revolutionary, to the heads of some schools, in the early days care was taken to enlist their interest and support. Open days at the Special Centre, when heads were specially invited, helped; but the most important liaison work was performed by the regular visits of the training and inspecting staff to participating schools. Eventually participation became rather a status symbol.

After the apparent success of the first year's work, the main problem was to contain the spread of the new approach and limit it to the training and supervisory resources available. Eventually, from being a limited and tightly controlled experimental project, it spread to cover almost all Asian primary schools in Kenya, and later adaptations of the course material have recently been employed in about 25 per cent of all Kenya

African primary schools. The training programme for teachers has, of course, been greatly changed and decentralised to suit these later developments, and has varied considerably.

CONCLUSION

The remarkable increase of interest during recent years in the techniques of language teaching, especially in developing countries, has been caused partly by rapid expansion of the numbers of schools in areas where second languages must be used. But in the more highly developed nations, in the U.S.A., in Britain, and in the U.S.S.R., educators, taking stock of the results of traditional language-teaching aims and methods, have often been conscious of the unsatisfactory yield of proficiency in return for the time and energy deployed. Not only recent studies in *linguistics*, but new technological devices for teaching (arising like mirages before administrators worried by a wilderness of understaffed schools), have tended to encourage a technocratic approach to language teaching. All this is to the good in so far as it has had an astringent influence on some former vague and woolly notions about the presumed but indefinable cultural or disciplinary values of learning languages, which never secured much competence in using them.

But in acquiring a new professional status (and a vocabulary of its own to match), language-teaching technocracy sometimes shows the dangers inherent in conscious specialisation. There may be an over-concentration on the value of learning language 'skills'—noises, patterns or even words—without asking to what purposes they are to be put, or without realising that abstractions are no substitute for practical assessments of needs. Where English is taught as a subject for either concurrent or consecutive use as a medium, its teachers must accept the responsibility of teaching it for use—few would deny this. But those who use it as a medium must also be aware of their responsibility for the growth of English; if only because the code conditions the message and the available language controls the learning of the subject which they are teaching.

IN-SERVICE TRAINING FOR TEACHERS OF ENGLISH IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

by D. A. Smith

In this chapter, for convenience, the term 'training school' has been used to describe an institution offering a teacher-training course for non-graduate teachers who will serve in primary and middle schools.

'Training college' has been reserved for an institution training graduate teachers, normally for service in secondary and higher secondary schools.

WHY IN-SERVICE TRAINING?

Effects of expansion

A characteristic of nearly all developing countries during the last decade or so has been a rapid increase in enrolment at all stages in the education system. Numerically the greatest increase has been, of course, in the primary schools. However, even before this expansion it was a rare government that managed to keep its teacher-training programme abreast of its primary education programme. The Gold Coast (now Ghana), for example, where education was probably more highly developed than anywhere else in British Colonial Africa, permitted in 1950 two untrained teachers in a staff of six for its single-stream 'assisted' primary schools (and these schools were the cream; most primary schools had no trained teachers at all) and one untrained teacher in a staff of four for its single-stream middle schools. In such countries, eyes are now set on the goal of free and compulsory education. Children flock to the schools; accommodation is somehow provided, often by means of double shifts; so are teachers. But expansion is almost inevitably accompanied by a fall in teaching standards. Facilities for training an unprecedented influx of young men and women to the teaching profession are inadequate and so the proportion

of 'pupil teachers' may increase. And with a rapid increase in training facilities designed to cope with this problem, standards fall in training institutions also and trained teachers emerge from their training courses less well trained than before.

Furthermore, self-government and economic development can mean a loss to the teaching profession of some of its most enterprising existing and potential members. Over half of the first democratically elected Legislative Assembly in the Gold Coast were teachers. No one need be surprised that both President Nyerere of Tanzania and ex-President Nkrumah of Ghana were at one stage in their careers teachers. There are thousands of first-rate young men and women who once would have become teachers but who now have a dozen careers to choose from.

Problems and weaknesses in training institutions

Most of us know the old jibe that those who can, do; those who cannot, teach; and those who cannot teach, teach others to teach. Unfair as that may be to staffs of training schools and colleges, there are a good many weaknesses, some by no means unknown in Britain, in teacher-training institutions in Africa and Asia, which handicap English teaching in the schools. Some of these spring in part from over-rapid expansion. Some are inevitable; some are not.

Selection procedures are often faulty, and in some countries there is the additional problem of impersonation. It is probably true to say that on the whole the calibre of those seeking admission to the profession is lower than it was thirty years ago; teaching has lost a lot of the prestige it once had. There are now more lucrative and perhaps more interesting careers for men and women of talent or the 'right' family background; and in most countries the salaries offered to teachers are lower than in other types of employment for people of similar qualifications. The combined effect of lack of prestige and poor salaries and conditions can lower the morale of the whole profession. It is often stated that in certain parts of India, for example, no young graduate becomes a teacher unless he has given up all hope of getting another job. And it was certainly the case some years ago in Africa that numbers of young men sought admission to teacher-training colleges not because they wanted to be teachers but because training offered a means of getting further education free or even with a salary.

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There are professional weaknesses in the training of large numbers of young teachers. One of the most common major difficulties for many of those going to teach in English, or to teach English as a subject, is the weakness of their own English. In some countries English is now becoming the medium of instruction from an earlier stage in a pupil's life than ever before, and as a result it is hoped that standards may rise—e.g. in Kenya, Ghana, Uganda and Zambia. In others, however, English has lost much of its previous importance and is now taught, often by out-of-date methods, for fewer hours per week and by teachers whose English is less good than formerly. Here we may find the average English vocabulary of a student-teacher is not more than a thousand words and his command of English structures so inadequate that almost every sentence he writes or speaks contains a mistake. Yet the training schools and colleges in these countries seldom provide enough time for efforts at improving the trainees' English to have any chance of success. Where courses for non-graduates are of only two years' duration and trainees are expected to go out and teach all subjects, this is understandable; in some areas training lasts only one year. There are places where a young teacher, the product of ten or eleven years of education in his mother tongue, goes for two years into a training school where English appears for only two periods a week on the time-table and these are devoted to English method. Even if English is the medium of instruction for all subjects in the curriculum, these two periods are inadequate; where the mother tongue or the regional or the national language is the medium they are hopelessly so. In institutions where English is not the medium, one necessity is an initial crash remedial course in English for as much as two-thirds of the time-table for three months, followed by perhaps seven hours of English a week thereafter with at least as much time given to English usage as to English-teaching methodology, with much effort to ensure that the young teacher is completely at home with the material he has to teach. All too common is the teacher who has passed his examination in the *teaching* of English but who stands in front of a class, holds up a pencil and says, 'Is this a pencil green?'

The fault lies in part with the educational authorities who prescribe the syllabus and set the examination papers. Facilities for training English specialists for work in training colleges and

training schools are often unsatisfactory. It may seem reasonable to demand an honours degree in English for appointment to a training college English specialist post; but the degree course may have consisted almost entirely of literary studies, and the student may not even have made the barest acquaintance with phonetics or modern ideas on English usage. If there is no higher training institution where graduates with this background can be given an up-to-date training (and one firmly rooted in classroom practice), then obviously the training these graduates will in due course pass on to their own trainees will be defective.

For many thousands of teachers of English in developing countries existing training is largely a waste of time because it is too academic. Training college and training school English specialists should where possible themselves teach regularly in a local school so that they speak from practical experience and their demonstration lessons are not show set pieces but examples of competent day-to-day English periods. How often do we find this? And how often do we find an English specialist teacher-trainer giving a series of demonstrations on ten or a dozen consecutive days with a class he knows intimately, showing the progression day by day, with revision, consolidation, oral work, written work, and reading all coming in? Many overseas teachers of English have hardly ever seen an English lesson competently taught, let alone fifty or sixty such lessons. Teaching practice, too, is frequently far less valuable than it should be: training-college staff are often notorious for the undue attention they pay to the detailed written preparation of lessons; the supervision of trainees' lessons may be entrusted to members of staff who have no specialist knowledge of language-teaching method or even to class teachers in the schools used for teaching practice whose own teaching methods are in urgent need of modernising. The general method specialist and the English specialist may preach two different doctrines, and the unfortunate student's examination results depend on which of the two assesses his practical teaching. If enough time is given to teaching practice it may be insufficiently supervised because the staff of the training institution is too small or because not enough members of staff are qualified to supervise English lessons. Training is often handicapped too by a shortage of nearby schools suitable for English-teaching practice. It is a

disheartening experience for a young teacher to have to try to teach by new methods a class of forty or fifty pupils, all of whom have for several years been taught by old-fashioned methods and who are lost when they are required to understand spoken English and speak the language themselves. Finally, there is often a lack of realism in teacher-training: time is given to courses in psychology, often of an out-of-date kind, and to principles of education, which would be better spent on ensuring, as far as student English teachers are concerned, that they had a better command of what they will have to teach and how to teach it. Time that would be better devoted to remedial English in small groups, with tape-recorders (or in a language laboratory if available), was, in at least one training college known to the writer, spent on the Herbartian steps. Education in primitive societies or the culture epoch theory may doubtless be of interest, but they are not an essential part of training a teacher in English.

The teacher in the school

In advanced countries the weaknesses resulting from unsatisfactory training can usually be made good when the young teacher finds in his first school a helpful head, efficient and sympathetic colleagues, suitable syllabuses, up-to-date textbooks, perhaps keen and ambitious pupils, and a good teachers' reference library. But this is not the normal situation in most developing countries. The headmaster or headmistress may be old-fashioned and unsympathetic. Colleagues may be more interested in augmenting their meagre salaries by giving private tuition than in helping a young teacher. The syllabus may be out of date, amateurishly prepared, imposing an impossible workload on teacher and pupils. The text-book may not conform to a good syllabus or too closely follow a bad one, be dull, poorly graded and badly printed and illustrated. It may have been adopted to please a politician or publisher. It may have been written by an incompetent local retired headmaster or university teacher. If drafted originally by a competent author, it may have been ruined by a local reviewing committee. As likely as not there will be no teacher's guidebook, or if there is one it will be of little practical value. The idea of pupils' workbooks may have been rejected officially for fear of parents' complaints about cost. School and class libraries are unlikely

to be of much value; the school authorities may be more interested in making sure books are not lost than in seeing that children read them; the English books are likely to be too difficult for the pupils (and for some members of staff) to read; there is probably a great shortage of supplementary readers written in a restricted vocabulary and range of structures. The government inspector is unlikely to be an expert in English teaching and may be more concerned with checking the school accounts, inspecting latrines, or following up anonymous letters, than in helping the young teachers. It is unlikely that there will be an itinerant expert in English whose sole job it is to demonstrate, advise and help. The classes may be too large for a badly trained and inexperienced teacher to teach English to by modern methods. Absenteeism may be excessive. Children may be too poor to buy books. Two or more classes may be sharing one room. Some might claim that too high a proportion of the children may be trying to learn English anyhow.

SHORT REORIENTATION AND INDUCTION COURSES

Very short courses, seminars, workshops (the terms all seem to mean much the same thing)—sometimes as short as one day and seldom longer than four—can be of some value if they concentrate on a very narrow field, e.g. the introduction of a new type of examination for the secondary school leaving certificate, or the inclusion of prescribed texts for the first time in a certain class, or the teaching of reading to beginners. However, those attending should be actively concerned with the matters on which the course concentrates—as inspecting officers, headmasters, or teachers of a particular class. Evidence of official support for the ideas put forward, such as the presence of the local Education Officer, is almost always an advantage. As a general rule an ounce of demonstration is worth a pound of explanation, provided it is skilled and successful demonstration. Demonstrations should be accompanied by brief statements by the demonstrator, to tell the observers what he is going to try to do and afterwards to say how far he considered he achieved his aim, what he thought went well, what went wrong, and what the follow-up would be. Then will come a question-and-answer and discussion session. Simply expressed professional guidance in cyclostyled form should be issued to participants,

preferably in a cheap file or folder, or at least already punched for filing. Provided that the right atmosphere is created, a short seminar of this kind will, if it does nothing else, give a fillip to morale.

There must be, however, hundreds of short courses which are largely a waste of time and money. Many are marred by over-generalised advice ('We must maintain the interest of the child'), inefficient travel arrangements, time-consuming procedures for refunding subsistence payments, speechifying by local dignitaries, group photographs ('One more, please'), eating and drinking, the course excursion or picnic, the late arrival of the demonstration class, a refusal by the local organiser to start until some VIP has appeared. And the participants may get only a taste of the professional tonic they urgently need.

Courses for teachers of English should usually include a remedial English element; but it is scarcely sensible to provide this in a course lasting a couple of days: a session devoted to answering questions on English usage which may long have puzzled teachers working in isolated schools is probably of as much use as anything else.

It is not unusual to provide a book exhibition on such courses. Where participants are keen and schools are not starved of funds this is a sound idea. But equally valuable in poor countries may be specific recommendations of half a dozen or a dozen cheap books, with information on where they can be bought and at what price. Often headmasters and teachers have extremely hazy ideas about suitable supplementary readers for the various classes.

When qualified people are available to do the demonstrating and lead the discussion, the fortnightly or monthly meeting of the local teachers' association, if there is one, can be more useful than expensively organised short courses. The demonstrator may be able to work with his own class, and the fact that he is not a one-visit-in-a-lifetime expert but a teacher serving in a school of the same sort as those of his fellow-members may more than compensate for his limitations. As always, much depends on the 'expert' and how competent he is. The first thing a good many training colleges with extension service departments should be doing is to ensure that their staff members are competent teachers of boys and girls. If they are not and cannot

become so they would do better to rely on films such as *Principles and methods of teaching a second language*, produced by the Modern Language Association of America, than on generalised exposition and explanation.

It is dangerous to generalise too far. In certain countries, nowadays in Asia rather than Africa, the creation of the right climate of opinion may be a task of overriding importance for several years before major reforms can even start. If the aim is to influence the opinions of a large number of people in a short time rather than modernise their classroom practice, the short course or seminar has obvious advantages. And the taste of modern ideas and practice that teachers get may stimulate a demand for improvement of syllabuses, text-books, and training. In democratic or semi-democratic societies, authorities are often reluctant to impose reforms from above and in advance of demand from teachers. In such circumstances, reform needs to be preceded by suitable propaganda to create the demand.

LONGER IN-SERVICE COURSES

Nearly all English specialists in developing countries have experience of these. Many began work by accompanying an experienced senior colleague to a vacation course of two to six weeks' duration, sitting in on the lectures and demonstrations, and perhaps taking tutorial groups themselves in remedial English. Later recollections are usually of the good humour of participants; of evening sessions with films, language games, solo items often almost unbelievably bad (the writer remembers with embarrassment once giving way to pressure from a group of Japanese teachers for an Indian song; fortunately no Indians were present); local food; minor disaster; anti-dysentery tablets; the distinguished and friendly administrator who presented the certificates.

These courses are often remembered by teachers who attended them as a major event in their lives, for some the only occasion when they learnt English from a native speaker. A British Council officer in Asia recently attended a function in honour of teachers selected by their education departments for the President's annual awards—a very real honour presented to the recipients by the President in person. In conversation with a group of a dozen later he found three of them had

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attended courses run more than ten years previously by Council officers.

There are almost as many types of short courses as there are specialists to plan and run them. However, before discussing in detail the kind of in-service course that, undertaken in increasing numbers over a number of years, paved the way to reform in India and Pakistan, let us look at a different type of course in a different part of the developing world.

An African scheme

In the 1950s Ghana established emergency training centres for six-week courses for men and women who had completed a ten-year course of schooling, the last four years through the medium of English, and who were either already serving as pupil-teachers in primary schools or who wished to do so. Despite the great increase in the number of two-year training school places planned and actually provided, it was obviously going to be years before the great majority of these teachers could receive orthodox training. The scheme was criticised at the time as an attempt to train teachers in six weeks. This it was not. It was an attempt to supplement the rapid expansion of normal training facilities demanded by the public—an expansion too rapid in fact if judged from a purely professional angle—by a scheme that would have a moral effect on the untrained teachers and would give them a rudimentary idea of what they were supposed to be about. Most of them were serving or would serve in schools where there was not a single trained teacher on the staff, schools which had probably never undergone a formal inspection by a government Education Officer. The term 'pupil-teacher' was really a misnomer for most of them, since 'pupil' implies the existence of a 'teacher' to teach the 'pupil'; in most of these schools there was no one qualified to teach a pupil-teacher.

Inevitably a lot of attention was paid to the teaching of English. Of the forty-eight forty-minute periods a week, fifteen were devoted to 'English', another five to 'English speech' and three to the 'English syllabus'. Thirty-seven hours of the course were devoted to English by gramophone records.

The *Pupil-Teacher Centres Staff Folder (Revised)* of 1958 said:

Comparatively very few gaps in the Pupil-Teachers' own education can be effectively closed in six weeks. The main effort is directed

towards improving their command of English. All members of staff are teachers of English and while setting good examples must not allow errors to pass uncorrected. An attempt is to be made to achieve rapid but certain progress over a limited field so that when the students leave many will be aware that they are doing much better work than when they came and be keen to pursue their studies. If the training is to be fruitful it is essential that it be followed by further study and by the revision and application of what has been learnt at the Centre, and that the students learn enough to realise how little they know and how much more remains to be learnt.

The course syllabus provided for oral reading, sound drills, vocabulary building, comprehension exercises, grammar, oral exercises, oral composition, written composition, dictation, private reading, simple phonetics.

How does one assess the results of an emergency training scheme of this kind? What could a staff of four Assistant Education Officers, working probably in a rented house in a village, do in six weeks for sixty pupil-teachers? In fact they did quite a lot. The morale at most of the centres was excellent and the improvement in classroom practice marked. The original plan provided for four centres; ultimately ten were established. On later occasions in primary schools, one saw young men from six-week courses teaching better than men with two years' professional training; these were, of course, the natural teachers, people who had only to be shown a technique once and who would learn it by using it.

Such success as this scheme achieved was due to a number of factors. One was the care with which the centre staffs were selected from the ranks of the trained teachers in the field—though mistakes were made; they always are in selection—in one region at least no applicant was called for interview until he had been visited without warning in his school and seen in his own classroom. Another was the nature of the training given: intensive and highly practical. Another was the fact that the Assistant Education Officers on the staffs of the training centres had much of their thinking done for them by the experienced teacher-trainers who gave them their training: they went off to the centres with folders telling them what to do day by day throughout the six-week courses and with lecture summaries and so on already prepared. Furthermore, when the pupil-teachers went back to their schools they were visited regularly by itinerant

Assistant Education Officers whose job was purely professional and followed up the work of the centres. Finally, this programme started in a country on the verge of complete self-government, wealthy by African standards, at a period of tremendous national pride, zest and hope in the future.

One discounts at one's peril the importance of any one of certain key factors in in-service training. The first is care in selection; the second, intensive and practical training of staff; the third, intensive training of students, with no time for boredom to develop and affect morale; the fourth, provision of tools of the trade; the fifth, careful and detailed advance planning; the sixth, adequate follow-up.

The two-to-six-week course

The stated aim of such courses is normally to improve the classroom teaching of English. In fact other purposes are often served: it has not been unknown for an institution with adequate funds in its budget to hold such a course partly to provide some of its staff with a refreshing break in a cooler and more agreeable environment; and, if staff go back more efficient to their run-of-the-mill duties, who can say that the purpose was an unworthy one? Many courses, well staffed and well run, must have had little impact on the classrooms of those attending; and it may be that only a decade later hindsight discovered that the real value of a certain course lay in creating in the minds of teachers and administrators an attitude that led to the later acceptance of new principles and methods.

Much depends on the approach to English teaching supported by the local Education Department. In most of the ex-British colonial territories official thinking has long been influenced by the principles associated ten or fifteen years ago with the Institute of Education, London University and with various series of text-books published by major British publishers. The impact of the work of Faucett, West, Palmer, French, and their successors has been great in such areas: vocabulary selection and the oral approach, for example, were accepted long ago. Syllabuses, text-books and teachers' guides were 'modern'. Courses for teachers working in a system where the training schools and colleges, the inspectorate and the examinations all accept modern ideas as normal can get down without delay to the business of what the teacher should be doing in the class-

room, combining this usually with work designed to improve the course members' own English.

Very different has been the position in certain other parts of the world. In undivided India in the 1930s the ideas of West and Palmer were gaining ground in certain States; but first the war and then independence and partition brought far more urgent problems to be solved than how to modernise English teaching. *Ideas quietly gaining acceptance in the 1930s were almost forgotten* and grammar-translation reigned on relatively undisturbed. It was not until 1952 that the first modern structural syllabus—for Madras State—was introduced in India, drafted by Dr Jean Forrester, herself a product of the London Institute.

Short courses in India and Pakistan therefore had to include, and still do, a considerable element of propaganda for modern ideas as well as provide for content demonstration and teaching practice. It was the series of short courses conducted chiefly by the British Council that paved the way for the establishment in India of the *English Language Teaching Institute at Allahabad* in 1957 and the *Central Institute of English in Hyderabad* in 1958, and for the initiation of the *Madras English Language Teaching Campaign* of 1959-63; and in East Pakistan of the *Alternative Syllabus* of 1955 and the syllabus that emerged from the *National Commission on the secondary school curriculum* of 1960.

Some would claim that the day of the short course is nearly over in India and that the expert is better employed in an English language teaching institute supported by public funds, helping with a longer and more thorough training and with syllabus and text-book writing and radio work.

What should a short course aim to do? How much can it achieve and what can it *not* do?

In areas where such basic principles as the structural approach, the importance of the spoken language, vocabulary selection and structural grading are accepted, the short course should be a *regular feature of training programmes*. As native speakers of English disappear from the inspectorate and become rarer and rarer in the training institutions it becomes, regrettably, more and more desirable that teachers of English should have their own English improved by classes conducted by native-English speakers and by local specialists whose English is of the highest standard. Most English teachers welcome opportunities for this.

If short courses did nothing but this they would still be well worth while. But they can and should provide, preferably by demonstration, examples of high quality teaching and of new techniques that can be usefully employed in teaching the prescribed syllabus and text-books. If they can provide opportunities for practice teaching under expert supervision so much the better. They should, and normally do, provide book lists and book displays. They should do much of the work by means of tutorials with small groups. They should, if they can, provide specialist films, especially if these show teachers in other developing countries using techniques of the sort the course is advocating. They should make use of tape-recorders and such gadgetry as is available even if the course members do not have access to these facilities in their own schools. In a course of longer than a fortnight the programme should include something for members to get their teeth into intellectually—perhaps in the field of phonetics, or in structural comparisons between English and the mother tongue, or in the writing of papers. They should and normally do aid teachers' morale. They should and normally do provide an evening entertainment element by the showing of feature films, the playing of games, the provision of literature sessions, playreadings, debates, discussion and so on.

Is there anything that the short course cannot do even under highly favourable conditions? First of all it cannot make its members speak R.P.—and it should not try to. It may, for convenience—because the staff may speak an approximation to R.P., because the English of available gramophone records is R.P., because the English described by the phonetics books used is R.P.—use it as a standard or as a model to refer to. But the English the members speak at the end of the course will be Indian English or Pakistani English or a form of African or Asian English freed, one hopes, from certain major defects. Furthermore, the short course can effect only a limited improvement in members' own command of English usage. Almost as soon as trainees stand on their feet before an audience and have to think of what they are going to say instead of how they are going to say it, many old habits will reassert themselves. But if the course concentrates on a limited range of the grosser local errors it can probably eliminate some. And if, for teachers of beginners, for example, it makes sure that the teachers themselves make no mistakes in the teaching items of the first three

years, it can prevent unacceptable forms being passed on to pupils in those years. The short course cannot remedy defects in the government-prescribed syllabus or text-books. It cannot even guarantee to improve the classroom teaching of all its members, because some will not change their teaching—from lethargy, from indifference, from fear of the examination. But it can reasonably expect to bring improvements to a number of classrooms; and it may set on the first rung of the ladder the foot of a teacher who in a few years will become one of his country's acknowledged experts.

In territories where basic principles of the sort advocated by most of the contributors to this book are not accepted—or are given lip service only—and where syllabuses, text-books and examinations remain relatively unchanged from twenty or thirty years ago, the short course has a somewhat different role. Then its function is largely to make people realise that ideas on foreign language teaching have changed over the last quarter or half century; that men working in places as far apart as Japan, Norway, Sweden, Iraq, Africa, England, America, India and Israel have all contributed to principles now generally accepted in the rest of the world; and that there is a great body of professional expertise in this new approach available for drawing upon.

THE IN-SERVICE TRAINING CAMPAIGN

The Madras English Language Teaching Campaign

The short in-service course may serve a very useful purpose, but usually it can only scrape a very small part of a very large surface. Something that goes much deeper and extends much more widely is often required. Given the money, the expertise and the will, the mass campaign may be the answer.

Probably the largest scheme to provide in-service training on a mass scale was the Madras English Language Teaching Campaign of 1959 to 1963, sometimes known as the 'Madras Snowball'.¹ This was a scheme worked out between the British Council and the Madras State Government in 1959, which provided in-service training courses of approximately eighty hours' duration for over thirty thousand non-graduate teachers of English to beginners.

¹ For a semi-popular account of this, see *English Language Teaching*, xvii, 1 (October 1962).

The campaign was at its height in 1961 and 1962, being run on behalf of the Madras Government by a team consisting of two co-directors (the Deputy Director of Public Instruction Training, Madras State and the British Council Education Officer for South India); four senior staff (three posted as Area Directors and one heading a small team working on the production of professional materials); approximately forty staff tutors; and assorted clerks, typists, peons, watchmen and so on.

The State (population approximately thirty-four million, with over four million children attending elementary schools) was divided into five areas. In each of four of these was a Primary Centre at which groups of 30-40 graduate secondary school teachers and deputy inspectors selected by officers of the education department underwent intensive three-week courses. On these approximately half the time was given to oral English and elementary phonetics and the other half to a highly practical training in the teaching of English to beginners. In addition to a series of straightforward talks on the principles of second language teaching there were daily demonstrations, followed by practice teaching; trainees were taken in detail through the syllabus and Readers; they were taught blackboard drawing and their blackboard writing was improved; they made visual aids; learnt songs and rhymes to pass on to elementary school teachers. Each centre was staffed by a director and three staff tutors.

In addition to his Primary Centre the director of each area was responsible for some thirty Secondary Centres, including some in remote villages.

The secondary courses were part-time evening courses attended by up to thirty-six non-graduate elementary school teachers teaching English to beginners. At one stage there were over 200 operating all over the State. Each was staffed by a team of three or four local graduate teachers and deputy inspectors who had completed a primary course and had been recommended as suitable for employment on the staff of a secondary course. Trainees met twice a week over a period of about five months. Their training was along the same lines as that of their graduate tutors but reduced to fundamentals.

By June 1962 the campaign authorities had gained, largely by trial and error, a lot of experience and were in a position to

lay down in detail the exact content of every secondary course meeting and to provide written guidance covering those parts of the programmes which were likely to prove most difficult for the tutors.

The weekly General Meeting programme was:

5 minutes:	Ear training
20 minutes:	Demonstration of teaching
15 minutes:	Method talk
15 minutes:	Speech training
10 minutes:	Songs and rhymes
5 minutes:	Interval
15 minutes:	Discussion in groups on teaching techniques (with reference to the demonstration and the method talk)
5 minutes:	Reports on discussions by group leaders
15 minutes:	Illustrated lecture on visual aids
5 minutes:	Final song or rhymes

At the other weekly meeting, the Tutorial Meeting, all work was done in either three or four groups. The programme was:

5 minutes:	Rhymes—those taught in last General Meeting and revision of rhymes previously introduced
30 minutes:	Practice teaching
20 minutes:	Discussion of lessons in Std 5 Reader
20 minutes:	Speech training
20 minutes:	Practical work—handwriting, blackboard writing, blackboard drawing, writing strips, letter cards, phonic cards, flash cards, matching cards, etc., etc.
15 minutes:	Group composition
	Homework throughout the course—writing, making visual aids, and reading of supplementary readers.

The head of the team of secondary course tutors was called the secretary. Apart from his part in the normal teaching, demonstrating and discussing, it was he who was responsible for ensuring that the whistle was blown on time to indicate the divisions in the 110-minute programme, that no delays occurred in change-overs and that the printed programme was strictly

adhered to. He had additional administrative responsibilities: for enrolment and attendance returns, for books, for tutors' remuneration, for trainees' travelling expenses, for materials for visual aids, even for the purchase of biscuits as a reward for children in the demonstration and practice teaching classes.

Supervision of the secondary courses was as thorough as staffing permitted. The aim was at least one visit by a secondary course staff tutor to each course each month. This was no light undertaking since it was only after the first two years that the campaign had any transport of its own and a number of the courses were miles off main roads. One or two could be reached only by foot, bicycle or bullock cart. The life of the staff tutor was a strenuous one. All were, of course, graduates, but hardly any had received specialist training before their selection for campaign staff. Some were college lecturers; some had worked in English-medium schools, some in mother-tongue medium schools. In the later stages they tended to be men selected because they were outstandingly efficient secretaries or tutors at secondary courses. The first batch learned on the job. Later batches had an initial three-month part-time training from one of the co-directors and two of the senior specialists. Character and personality were in many ways more important in these posts than professional knowledge and skill. Staff tutors could in three months be taught most of what they needed to know, though there was almost no end to the improvement hoped for in their demonstration lessons. Apart from that it was enthusiasm, common sense, devotion to duty, the ability to get along with people, and physical toughness that mattered.

Morale was of vital importance and it was here that the campaign scored its most unquestioned success. Senior staff might have their secret dark hours but the rest of the campaigners marched on full of what was known as 'the campaign spirit', which embraced a willingness to put up cheerfully with every type of personal inconvenience, a belief in the importance of enjoyment and interest in English lessons and of simplicity in explanation, of the virtues of punctuality, of priority for practice rather than theory—as well as, in thousands of simple hearts, a fervent belief in the campaign principles and an equally fervent disbelief in all other principles. The keenness and gratitude of the elementary school teachers were both inspiring and moving. There were instances of their riding twenty miles by

bicycle to and from the secondary course centre in the evenings after the day's work at the schools.

Madras State is one of the most prosperous and best run in India but by world standards it is poor. The campaign cost it forty-five lakhs of rupees (at the time approximately £330,000 sterling); the average sum spent on an eighty-hour in-service training course for an elementary school teacher of English was therefore about 150 rupees (£11 to £12 at the rate of exchange then ruling). Ideally the campaign would have continued in high gear for another three years and trained an English specialist in every middle and high school.

How successful was it? Administratively, when one considers the need for the strictest economy, the immense numbers of teachers and size of the geographical area to be covered, the small number of the senior staff, the background of many of the staff tutors and most of the secondary course secretaries, it was a very considerable achievement. It was also a great moral success. It certainly impressed educationists and administrators elsewhere in India; and the late Pandit Nehru commended it for study to Chief Ministers of other Indian states. It altered the professional thinking and, in many cases, the teaching of the 3,029 graduates trained in Primary Centres. It was responsible for the preparation and adoption of a new English syllabus up to and including Std 8, imposing a realistic workload on pupils. It produced a modern Std 5 English Reader and handbook and—when the starting point for English was moved forward to Std 4 and then Std 3—it led to modern books for these classes too. It had an impact on English teaching in almost every elementary school in the state. No one ever claimed it produced 30,000 efficient modern teachers of English to beginners. And because it stopped (temporarily, it now appears) at Std 5, instead of continuing (with decreasing numbers and better qualified teachers to deal with) to Std 10, much of its value was lost: children taught by modern methods have gone in Std 6 and beyond to classrooms where grammar-translation still rules; and many of the elementary teachers trained will by now have lapsed into their old habits. It did, however, prove that, given imagination, money and authority, it would be possible for a government to modernise thinking and practice in perhaps 50,000 schools in less than a decade. And Madras State has now drawn up proposals for an extension of the cam-

paign to train 15,000 non-graduate teachers handling English in Stds 6 to 8 at a cost of 2,160,000 rupees, giving them courses of approximately 125 hours' duration. Ten courses were in operation in January 1966.

The lessons of the campaign

Lessons learnt from the Madras campaign that are of importance to other authorities contemplating in-service training on a mass scale may be summarised as follows:

(a) The importance of the most careful estimating of costs.

(b) The need to make a much greater allowance for wastage at all levels than one could think necessary initially. The percentage of graduates assessed as outstandingly suitable for secondary course work on the completion of their primary course training was surprisingly small.

(c) The need to publicise from the start the fact that the campaign has the full backing of the government, on both political and professional fronts.

(d) The need for the early establishment of a high-level official body able to cut through red tape and in particular financial red tape. The M.E.L.T.C. Steering Committee comprised the co-directors and representatives of the education department and the education and finance ministries. It was invaluable.

(e) The desirability of having a liaison officer of senior rank in the appropriate government financial department whose help can be enlisted when snags arise.

(f) The advisability of restricting the activities of the foreign experts as far as possible to professional matters and leaving government administration to people who are expert in it.

(g) The need for

- (i) the widest possible field for the recruitment of professional staff. Campaigns need to be staffed by young and dynamic people speaking above-average English;
- (ii) provision of adequate transport as early as possible for intensive professional supervision;
- (iii) responsibility for the preparation of English syllabuses and prescribed readers, handbooks, papers for public examinations, being under the control of professional staff;

- (iv) an early concentration on training such key people as training-school English specialists and inspectors;
- (v) familiarising such influential officials as local education officers, inspectors, and administrative officers with the campaign aims and what is being done to achieve them and of enlisting their support;
- (vi) planning being based on educational needs. The educationist knows that the impact is greater if certain specified areas or schools are 'saturated' with retrained staff rather than having retrained staff dotted singly over a wide area;
- (vii) full-time residential courses replacing part-time non-residential courses;
- (viii) providing a really adequate training for graduate staff to serve as trainers. It is surprising what can in fact be done in three-week courses, but they are not long enough.

Plans for improved campaigns for South India

By early 1962 the Madras campaign had so struck the imagination of south India that a scheme had already been drafted for an in-service training programme to cover the other three states as well: Andhra Pradesh (population 36,000,000), Kerala (population 17,000,000) and Mysore (population 23,500,000). This envisaged a centrally situated English Language Teaching Institute to which each of the four states would depute thirty to thirty-five graduate staff for training as teacher-trainers. These would return to their states and there undertake campaign work on a mass scale.

There were to be three major changes from the original campaign. Graduates would receive not a three-week training but one lasting five months. Six-week full-time residential courses for elementary school teachers would replace the eighty-hour part-time evening courses spread over five months. Elementary school teachers would be trained to tackle the Std 3-5 level, not merely the first year of English. (Obviously other groups would later tackle the post-Std 5 level.)

With 260 graduates being trained on five-month courses each year it was calculated that in the first $3\frac{1}{2}$ years over 40,000 elementary school teachers could complete six-week in-service training courses. After this each of the four states could, it was

estimated, give six-week courses for 9,000 elementary school teachers a year. The scheme did make allowance for wastage but we now know the allowance would not have been enough. Nevertheless, even if the allowance for wastage had been trebled or quadrupled, the numerical build-up would have been impressive and the states would have been able to look forward to the day when every teacher of English would have been given a course.

In October 1962, Chinese soldiers crossed the Chinese-Indian boundary into the North East Frontier Agency and Ladakh. The danger of a full-scale war between India and China was obvious; the Indian Government declared a national emergency; and the big south Indian English language teaching project became a luxury the country could not afford.

A less costly and ambitious scheme was substituted. Nevertheless, the Regional Institute of English, South India, in Bangalore, which emerged, is the biggest English Language Teaching Institute in India and its impact on the four states that finance it is great and increasing. Much of what is said in the sections that follow is based on Bangalore practice and objectives.

ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHING INSTITUTES

The nine or ten of these dotted over India all derive ultimately from the small English Language Teaching Institute established in Allahabad, U.P., in 1957, with the financial support of the Nuffield Foundation. Within a few years the names of this institute and its director became known throughout India; and other institutes, most of them on the Allahabad pattern, began to open. In 1958 the Central Institute of English, a Union Government project, was established in Hyderabad with the financial support of the Ford Foundation and professional help from the British Council. Later came institutes at Patna in Bihar, Calcutta in West Bengal, Bombay in Maharashtra, Chandigarh in the Punjab, Bangalore in South India, Bhopal in Madhya Pradesh. Another is being set up in Amjer in the State of Rajasthan. In all these the British Council is involved as well as State Governments. There are three other institutes, which operate without British Council assistance: at Solan in Himachal Pradesh, the H.M. Patel Institute of English at

Vallabh Vidyanagar in Gujarat and a third at Trivandrum in Kerala State for college lecturers.

Experience with English Language Teaching Institutes is now so extensive and varied that one can write with some confidence on what they should attempt and how they should go about it. Ideally they should concentrate on four aims: (a) the training of key personnel, (b) the production of professional material, (c) English by radio, (d) professional advice to the local educational authorities.

The main functions of English Language Teaching Institutes

Unless an institute has a very large enrolment or the number of teachers requiring training is comparatively small, it should almost certainly be devoting its early courses not to training rank-and-file classroom teachers but to training teacher-trainers, inspectors, and advisers and (where funds exist for mass campaigns) in-service trainers. The highly qualified specialist suitable for an E.L.T.I. should be looked upon as too rare and too expensive to be used for retraining classroom teachers. A 'multiplier effect' is what should be aimed at. First priority should go to ensuring that young teachers entering the profession have been trained by staff themselves trained in efficient methods; otherwise they will merely add to the numbers requiring retraining. Inspectors and advisers are another key group where the multiplier effect of training should be great.

Modern training and competent advisers lose much of their value if the schools continue to base their work on out-of-date syllabuses and text-books. The revision of syllabuses, the writing of text-books based on the new syllabuses and workbooks and teachers' guides to accompany the text-books is a natural function of an E.L.T.I. The main mistake to be avoided here is excessive haste. In the enthusiasm that may accompany the opening of an E.L.T.I. the government may press for a syllabus revision and new books to be written immediately at speed. A task of this nature is too important to be rushed. Furthermore, no syllabus should ever be regarded as 'final'. Ideally no syllabus should be officially adopted *in toto* until text-books and handbooks based on it have been written and have been tried out successfully in the schools. It is only when this is done that the defects in a syllabus are fully revealed. Until then it should be looked upon as an interim syllabus only. Ideally, too, every

text-book and guide should be based on at least a year's day-to-day teaching by the authors of the class concerned. This means that the production of professional material should start with the beginner stage and advance up the school at the rate of one class per year. Education departments are not very often prepared to agree to this and one hears reports of unfortunate teams of text-book writers working simultaneously in various towns, each engaged in writing books for a different level and none having seen what has been produced for the previous classes. It should now be accepted that for every class text-book there should be not only a pupil's workbook and a teacher's guide but that these should be accompanied by a set of cheap wall pictures, charts of various kinds and printed cards, writing strips, and so on, as well as supplementary readers appropriately graded in structure and vocabulary. A team of three on the staff of an E.L.T.I. could well devote most of their time to such work and to the daily class teaching on which the material is based. Too many English text-books are written by people who have never, or not for many years, taught English to children of the age they are aimed at.

An English Language Teaching Institute is an obvious professional source for materials to teach English by radio. There are limitations to English by radio but many who would strongly oppose reliance on mass direct teaching by radio in advanced countries would accept it in developing countries where the English of teachers is often poor and their classroom skills inadequate. How far can English by radio, however, be regarded as in-service training for teachers? This obviously depends on the programmes themselves; but certainly the English of teachers who listen regularly to these programmes is likely to improve. Where classroom expertise is concerned, English by television is superior to English by radio; the teacher-training element in the combined All India Radio-Delhi Directorate of Education-British Council television English programmes is generally acknowledged to be of very real help.

The E.L.T.I. should be the normal source of expert advice for local education authorities. This means that it should be consulted not only over school syllabuses and text-books but also over examinations in English and teacher-training programmes. A word of warning is necessary here. It is dangerous for an institute with a small staff to claim expertise at all levels. The

C.I.E. in Hyderabad concerns itself with all levels and in doing so draws upon a professional staff of twenty-five for a trainee enrolment of between sixty and seventy; but it would be foolish for a small institute with a staff of three or four to attempt to do this.

What is an E.L.T.I. to do, if anything, about in-service training for classroom teachers? The answer is to restrict this, if possible, to vacation courses. If the authorities refuse to agree to the institute concentrating on key personnel, then at almost any cost it should try to avoid offering perhaps four- or five-month courses to teachers who will merely go back to their schools and be lost in an apathetic or hostile environment. This may, of course, be the fate of the weaker brethren regarded at the end of their courses as unsuitable for teacher-training, inspectorial, advisory or campaign posts.

The time will come, however, in the history of the E.L.T.I., when it has given training courses to all the English specialists in the training institutions with which it concerns itself, when the inspectorial and advisory staff have all completed courses, when its production unit is working to a carefully planned programme, when radio programmes are in hand, when its experts are members of the important professional committees (examinations councils, boards of studies of universities, training colleges, training schools and the like). If funds are available for a mass retraining campaign, this can keep the E.L.T.I. more than fully occupied for years, not only with training staff but with organisation and supervision.

It is at this stage that the E.L.T.I.'s training programme should be diverted to meet the needs of selected schools. There is nothing very original in 'selected schools'; they are simply schools which for various reasons (perhaps size, perhaps buildings, perhaps location) are given priority in the posting of specially trained staff. Graduates completing four-month training courses at Punjab Institute of English, Chandigarh, in Northern India, are all posted to a group of schools, at present about a hundred in number, which have been selected largely because they are at district headquarters or on main roads and are therefore easier to supervise. The time is not far off when all the children at these schools will be taught by staff trained at the Punjab Institute. These schools use different English text-books from other schools and have greater independence

over their English examinations. As part of its policy of concentration of resources in specially qualified staff the Punjab government recently asked the Peace Corps if it would post a volunteer with an initial two or three months' English teaching and Indian language training to each of forty of these schools to serve as a language informant.

The advantages of selected schools in aiding in-service training are great. Retrained teachers serve in schools where their colleagues are men who have received the same training and follow the same ideas and practices, they are encouraged by inspectors and headmasters to follow the new methods they have learnt, the books in use are books they have become familiar with, and the English examination papers they set themselves.

One major problem facing every E.L.T.I. is follow-up. The Madras campaign pursued follow-up vigorously into the secondary courses. To a very limited extent it pursued follow-up into elementary schools; but numbers were too great and it had to leave nearly all follow-up here to deputy inspectors, who had undergone primary course training. Neither the Central Institute of English nor the state E.L.T.I.s in India have succeeded with follow-up, primarily because of cost. All realise the need and none is convinced that newsletters and professional materials through the post are more than a gesture. The Regional Institute of English in Bangalore has been more successful than most since its staff actively supervise the nine centres in Andhra Pradesh and two in Kerala which, staffed with R.I.E. products, each provide six six-week full-time courses a year for thirty-six teachers at a time. But distances are great, the cost is heavy, and very little has been done so far to visit the training schools of south India to which many of its ex-trainees have been posted. Ideally every E.L.T.I. should have a considerable number of its staff continuously engaged in visiting its ex-trainees in their classrooms or lecture-rooms.

LESSONS FROM INDIA'S EXPERIENCE OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHING INSTITUTES

In November 1965, Directors and Directors of Studies of E.L.T.I.s met in Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh, to discuss matters of common interest and to agree upon advice to be

offered to the Government of India, which had provided funds to cover the cost of the conference. Amongst a wide range of points on which there was general agreement the following may be of interest here:

(i) 'Large institutes are preferable to small ones, being more economical, better able to provide specialist training and better qualified to produce professional material.'

(ii) 'An E.L.T.I. should not be just another state institute but should be autonomous, controlled by a Board of Governors.' (The Conference suggested that the board should include, among others, representatives of the ministries of education and finance and that its chairman should be the Director of Education.)

(iii) Transport for follow-up work should be provided.

(iv) 'The ratio of staff to trainees should be 1:10 excluding (a) the Director, (b) a post for follow-up work, (c) a language-laboratory specialist, and (d) a specialist engaged in the production of text-books, etc.'

(v) 'Members of staff should themselves have time to teach a class of children daily.'

(vi) 'Attachments of Peace Corps Volunteers and of Graduate Voluntary Service Overseas members should be encouraged to act as informants and help the trainees with their skills in English.'

(vii) 'An E.L.T.I. should have a direct voice in the selection of its trainees and should be represented on any selection committee.'

(viii) Selection of trainees should, if possible, involve both a written test and an interview.

(ix) 'Stipends should be provided to supplement the normal salaries of trainees while they are on institute courses to make the latter more attractive and thus secure trainees of high quality.'

(x) 'Trainees successfully completing a course should receive two or more additional increments.'

(xi) The Diploma awarded by the institute should be granted recognition by the government for promotion purposes.

IMPROVING THE TEACHER'S OWN ENGLISH

by Peter Stevens

THE NATURE OF THE PROBLEM

What do we mean by 'improving the teacher's own English'? Are we talking practically, about the teacher who is already trained and teaching, or are we thinking more theoretically, of an element in teacher-training schemes? What previous level of attainment do we presuppose—at which school level is our notional teacher operating? Is he for example a primary school teacher, in Africa? Or a secondary school teacher, in Germany? Is he a graduate? And if so, was English one of his degree subjects? Was it the medium of instruction during any sizeable portion of his schooling? Where is the improvement in his English to be carried out: in Britain, or overseas in the teacher's home country? Why does his English need improving, and by how much? The answers to these questions, and many more, would determine the action required in any given case.

Yet another vital question is whether we should be concerned with the performance of the individual (that is, with 'the teacher's English') or whether it would not be more valuable to concentrate on the corporate standards of the profession ('the teachers' English'). The latter would enable us to find a way of improving the situation in countries where English is the medium of secondary education. In these a good deal of care and attention may be given to the performance in English of those teachers who are specialists in English, but the standard of English of the *average* teacher—the teacher of general subjects or the specialist in subjects other than English—may be so low, and the contact by the children with these teachers is relatively so great, that the overall standard of English among the pupils remains lamentably poor. Does one spread the available butter thickly over a small area, or thinly over the bread as a whole?

One should ask, indeed, what is meant by 'English' in this context, and the examination of some of the many possibilities will be undertaken later in this chapter. Whichever variety of English may turn out to merit selection, one thing seems clear from the outset: it must be relevant to the teacher's job. 'The teacher's English' does not mean 'the pronunciation of English in Shakespeare's day', nor 'grammatical techniques of subordination in Pope', nor 'London slang in the dialogue of Charles Dickens'. Even though I would agree that any teacher whose English was in other respects up to the needs of his profession might gain through such studies a useful insight into certain aspects of the vast field that falls under the heading of English studies, it is clear that first and foremost some quite other kind of ability in English is required of him.

What should this ability embrace? First, it must relate to present-day English; next, it must involve equal competence in both writing *and* speech; it must be an ability that can be made use of quickly and readily, not laboriously and with much looking-up of details; and although it may legitimately display local characteristics of accent and usage when these are accepted in his own country as being appropriate, the variety of English used must be one which is agreed for educational use, and this, in practice, means Standard English—though not, as we shall see, necessarily 'English' English. Finally in this catalogue of broad generalisations about the teacher's English, we should be clear that the teacher must know a great deal more than merely the 'text-book English' that he teaches in class: teachers of any subject must possess a wider understanding and experience than just the minimum that they need for successful teaching.

As a way out of the complexity of the many possible meanings of the phrase 'improving the teacher's own English' I shall select an interpretation that affects a great many people and look at it in detail. My theme will be 'the improvement of the individual teacher's performance in English language by means of organised courses in Britain', and I shall have in mind especially the problems and needs of the overseas secondary school teacher or training college lecturer. The subject will be discussed under the following main headings: first, *English*, what it means and ought to mean for the teacher, including some suggestions as to why the standard of attainment of many teachers should need improvement at all; next, *the individual*

teacher, his expectations and the common frustrations of those who come to Britain for courses; next, the *orientation of existing courses* and the shortcomings from which many of them suffer; next, *suggestions for the aims, content and methods of courses* for this purpose; followed by a section dealing with *language-laboratory techniques*.

WHAT DO WE MEAN BY 'ENGLISH'?

Most teachers, when they enter their profession, are products of the system they will be serving. So with their English. The English language requirement for entry to many training colleges and universities overseas is equated with the G.C.E. paper (or similar examinations) in English Language, and any subsequent instruction that students may receive in English—unless they should happen to be among the small minority who take a degree in English—tends to be little different from a continuation of pre-G.C.E. teaching. It is therefore hardly surprising that the performance in English of so many teachers of English throughout the world conforms to the odd stereotype that the British School Certificate and G.C.E. English Language papers have created. If we are concerned with improving the teacher's English we must ask whether this widely used criterion produces results that are adequate.

Many people in Britain have doubted for a long time whether G.C.E. English Language was a useful and appropriate examination for children even in British schools, and there is a strong movement for its abolition or reform. It is highly unsuitable, and always has been, when applied to children for whom English is a foreign language. There are a few versions of these examinations, it is true, that are 'specially adapted for overseas use'. Few of them do more than tinker with the problem, and it is almost solely in some of the special 'Use of English' papers that one sees any genuine advance.¹

Seen through the restricting and distorting mirror of the examination syllabus, English appears as solely British (American and other varieties are not acknowledged), unrelievedly highbrow, almost always written (an oral examination nowadays figures in some countries, but it is mostly treated as of

¹ As from 1966, however, the West African Examinations Council has introduced new syllabuses for its School Certificate examinations, which represent a welcome break from tradition.

minor significance), largely literary, formal in style, and heavily laden with nineteenth-century usage. Add to this the non-contemporary content of the parallel paper in English Literature, a widespread acquaintance with the Bible, and the curious avidity overseas for the novels of Marie Corelli, and it will be seen that there is every justification for the bookish and old-fashioned English which so many overseas teachers possess when they first come to Britain.¹

It is bad enough if the English the teacher knows is restricted and out of date, it is worse when he is almost totally unaware of the existence of vast areas of current English which native speakers take for granted but which foreign learners never encounter because these kinds of English do not appear in the G.C.E. syllabus. They have been taught certain prescriptive rituals (not to split infinitives, always to use *whom*, never to say *It's me*, etc.) but they have been kept unaware of the immense diversity of English, and above all of the co-existence of different varieties of English, each appropriate to particular situations.

So when we talk about improving the teacher's English we need to realise that this means not so much remedial work in the sense of reteaching that which has been forgotten or mislearned, but rather the provision of additional command of varieties of English whose very existence has never been acknowledged to the learner.

What kinds of additional English do we mean? To begin with, the teacher must be taught how to operate at all points along the scale from formality to informality. Thus, he needs to know when the appropriate greeting is 'How do you do?', and when 'Hi!' is more in order; when to write or say 'I should be grateful for an early reply', and when 'Let me know as soon as you can'; how his relationships with people will determine the choice of 'Hurry up!' as against 'Would you mind moving a little faster?'; and so on. The exploitation of this scale is totally automatic and effortless to the native speaker; to the foreigner it is often totally mysterious. Yet it holds the clue to understanding many situations he will meet in real life, as well as

¹ A West African student, whose examination performance in English was much above average, once presented himself on my doorstep and said, 'Sir, I come to congratulate you on the glad tidings: I hear your wife is with seed.' Six months later he came again and said, 'Sir, I hear your wife has brought forth.' But where, after all, can an overseas student learn how we customarily refer to the facts of life, except in the Bible?

subtleties in contemporary literature (and other writings) that would otherwise go unremarked or uncomprehended. Even the teacher's own pupils—not just the teacher himself—ought to be introduced to this dimension of English, while for the teacher it is, in my view, an absolute essential. (Few text-books or courses adequately describe the mechanisms and choices that are involved. It is one of the contributions of modern linguistics that these degrees of formality and informality have been identified.)

Next, the teacher should be given a degree of sophistication in his awareness of dialects and accents, beginning with the dichotomy that seems to loom largest of all, between British and American varieties of English. He should be led to realise that while there are very many different *dialects* (i.e. grammatical and lexical variations) and *accents* (i.e. variations of pronunciation) over the world as a whole, yet for educational purposes only one dialect is accepted, with practically no exceptions. This dialect is the one known as Standard English. The teacher should be shown that while Standard English when *written* looks very much the same in America, Britain, Australia, the West Indies, Nigeria and elsewhere, it can be *spoken* with any one of a large number of different accents. Once this general proposition has been grasped (and it is a persuasive exercise to listen in turn to radio news bulletins from the capitals of the countries mentioned) it becomes easier to see that American and British varieties of Standard English differ largely in accent (just as Scottish and English varieties do). The exceptions to this broad statement are items on a small and easily learned list of grammatical and lexical variants. The equivalence of *lift* and *elevator*, of *pavement* and *sidewalk*, of *petrol* and *gas*, and so on, is now widely known, and these and a couple of score of other lexical pairs can readily be learned. Similarly, *I've got a* and *I have a*, together with a very small number of other grammatical equivalents, can also be listed and taught. It is time we realised and accepted in our teaching syllabuses that the differences between English as used by educated people in Britain and in America and Canada are few, unimportant, and concentrated in the area of accent. In the late twentieth century we should be playing down the differences and playing up the vast degree of intercomprehensibility that exists; teachers of English overseas should not be left out of the new enlighten-

ment that is taking place, nor be allowed to perpetuate old-fashioned attitudes towards American English.

The overseas teacher should above all be given the means of becoming as fluent and as competent in speech as in writing. This is a *more complex order than it might seem to be at first sight*. It certainly involves very much more than simply becoming fluent in speaking that which he can already write. It involves, rather, being made aware of a whole range of mechanisms that exist *only* in speech. 'The teacher's English' must be freed from the accusation that it is an incomplete variety of the language (just like Latin today, incidentally) in that it comprises a written form without the corresponding but different spoken counterpart. When the native speaker of English remarks that an overseas learner 'talks like a book' he is referring in part to this lack of spoken English and this unvarying use, in its place, of 'spoken written English'.

Speaking *spoken* English entails operating systems of stress, rhythm, intonation and juncture; it involves the use of greetings formulae, slang, idiom and cliché; it requires familiarity with images, allusions, even current linguistic fashion, and it means using all these much more readily than is permitted in writing; it requires the automatic use of the scale of formality-informality mentioned earlier. Few of these devices are adequately taught overseas. Those teachers who do acquire an easy command of them (and in these strictures against the turgid norm I must not be thought to overlook the dazzling competence of the few) generally do so by a ready mimicry and because they have a good model of English at hand to observe, rather than as the result of conscious teaching.¹

Above all, perhaps, overseas teachers need to be freed from the confusion that often besets them over appropriate target standards for English in their own country. There are two aspects to this matter: on the one hand there is the question of *what kind of English* the school system in a given country should be teaching; on the other hand there is the decision about *how high the standards of competence should be*, at a given point in the

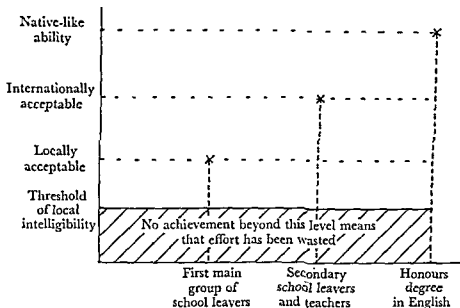
¹ In this matter of a good model, it has been suggested that one main reason for the great success of Peace Corps and Voluntary Service Overseas personnel in the field of English teaching has been that they provide an unselfconscious, up-to-date and readily available model of *spoken English*. The volunteer is an *informant*, whether he knows it or not, and in this capacity he probably makes up for lack of training as a teacher.

educational cycle. The two aspects are often conflated in a way which is illustrated by the common question, 'Should we expect Indian (or African, etc.) teachers to speak like Englishmen?' The question confuses the dimension 'Englishmen-Indians-Americans-Australians, etc.' with the quite different dimension 'with the competence of native speakers versus some other defined degree of competence'.

Yet the broad answers to each question are surely quite clear. As to the first, it is now universally accepted that Standard English (as to grammatical and lexical usage) is the only model for teaching the young; in a given country it may be necessary to discover whether public policy or public opinion favours a British accent (which is generally but not necessarily R.P.) or an American accent, with appropriate minor variations such as were touched on earlier, or whether an accent specific to the country itself is more appropriate. To take some examples, in most countries of Europe a British accent is preferred; in France, official policy is to teach a British form, but many private language schools either deliberately or not teach American forms; in the Philippines, an American variety and accent is preferred; in Australia, an Australian accent; in Scotland, a Scottish accent; in many independent countries of Anglophone Africa, a locally differenced accent (e.g. 'educated West African'); and so on.

As to the second question, concerning levels of competence, one can perhaps visualise a scale of competence rising from zero at the point where a child first starts to learn the language and having a theoretical upper limit which we might call 'native-like ability'. Between these extremes one can imagine three approximate points. The highest of these, but below the upper limit, one might call 'internationally acceptable', and here one can think of as exemplars large numbers of people who speak English as a second or foreign language, who are clearly not native speakers and indeed unmistakably announce by their English the part of the world they come from, but who are completely and immediately intelligible to other educated speakers of English anywhere in the world. Below this point again is a point that one might label as 'locally acceptable', where the standard of English is less than would be required for easy international acceptability but which is adequate for more limited use in the country concerned. (This situation arises

above all in places where English is a *lingua franca*. One thinks for example of English—not pidgin—when spoken with the accent, including the tempo and rhythm, of certain West African varieties of English.) And finally, not very far above the zero on our scale, there is a point that one might label 'threshold of local intelligibility', below which the English of an individual is inadequate for any purpose whatever.



These points can be roughly correlated with major points in the educational system of an overseas country, as suggested on the diagram. A target close to 'native-like ability' is appropriate to specialists such as those who take an honours degree in English. The target of 'internationally acceptable' would seem to be a reasonable one for teachers of English, certainly at secondary school level, as well as for training college staff and for those who have dealings with others outside their own country. The target of 'locally acceptable' would be a minimum goal for the first major school-leaving group (assuming they have been learning English). To put this another way, if we accept the existence of a 'threshold of local intelligibility' then all the products of the first major stage of English teaching must reach at least this point, otherwise the whole of the time which they and their teachers have spent on English tuition will have

been wasted. A target somewhat above this, such as 'locally acceptable', would give a reasonable expectation that the first major group of school leavers had acquired enough English to be useful to them at least within the local community.

There remains the question of the *range* of English to be acquired. To speak and write with native-like syntax and an impeccable accent, but to be able to do so using only half-a-dozen grammatical patterns and a vocabulary of a couple of hundred words—such performance is quite inadequate. There is a need for a quantitative statement of the number and type of grammatical and lexical items that should be mastered before a learner's English can be regarded as having reached a given standard.

I have deliberately gone into considerable detail in this question of what I mean by 'the teacher's English' because without some analysis of this kind the instruction provided may be inadequate or irrelevant. But those who plan courses should also consider the needs of the individual teacher and be ready to deal with his particular problems.

PROBLEMS OF THE INDIVIDUAL

One may begin by asking whether the individual teacher of English from overseas expects that his English will be the subject of organised efforts for its improvement, when he comes to Britain to attend a course. Almost certainly he has some expectations of this kind, especially if the course he attends bears the word 'English' or 'Education' in its title; only too often he is disappointed. But even if he has not consciously formulated any such expectations, he is likely to receive a number of shocks and disappointments because he will be unaware in advance of several unpleasant facts. It is true that in a generalised and non-technical way he will be conscious of deficiencies in his English and he will be prepared to work quite hard for their removal. But although he expects his tutors to pay attention to his shortcomings he is likely to think of these deficiencies much more in terms of the need for practice and for an increased quantity of experience of hearing English in use. The individual overseas teacher is generally convinced of the efficiency of the 'rubbing-off' theory, of the notion that because a child learns his mother tongue by hearing and seeing

it actually used, therefore given a large dose of contact with English in use, enough of it will rub-off on to the teacher to transform his performance out of recognition. In this view he is resolutely backed by many of those who encouraged and enabled him to go away to a course in the first place, and by many of those who will be teaching him during his stay in Britain.

The overseas teacher is unaware that when he first arrives in Britain (or America) he may very well suffer from a sheer inability to comprehend people there, and (much worse) from an even greater inability on their part to understand him. Having in his home country passed his examinations in English, and having been given further preferment through selection and training for teaching, and as a specialist in English at that, it is humiliating and distressing to find that the competence which is his greatest source of professional pride may be inadequate even for the purpose of buying a bus ticket or disarming the suspicions of a landlady.

He is unaware until he arrives in Britain that so few people actually use the kind of English he was taught to aim at and imitate. It is a remarkable fact that great numbers of learners of English abroad, having encountered native speakers of English only (if at all) in the persons of teachers, parsons, doctors or senior civil servants, assume that Britain is entirely inhabited by people who speak Standard English with an R.P. accent, an assumption which is confirmed by the implications of the textbooks. (Exception must be made of those British contacts who were Scottish Presbyterians or Irish Catholics: but even these tend to reinforce the general impression through their readiness to label themselves a minority.) It is a repeated and unsettling shock to find that hardly any of the British people one meets in Britain speak English as one has been led to believe it *should* be spoken.

The teacher is unaware, too, of the judgements as to geographical origin, social class and educational level, which the British (and above all the English) continuously and effortlessly make about each other on the basis of but a few syllables of speech. Here the surprise—at least as it has been reported by students—is not so much at the fact of making such judgements as that they should be possible. A new dimension of language is suddenly revealed in action, and some bitter reactions against the incompleteness of former instruction frequently ensue.

He is unaware (or at best only dimly aware) of the existence of the scale of formality-informality we touched upon earlier. The range of choice between 'my good woman' and 'darling', with all its complex grammatical ramifications, to say nothing of the particular matrix of social relationships into which any possible choice will fit—all these factors are unknown to the overseas teacher when he first arrives in Britain. He has no clue as to which of them are appropriate to his own use, and his tentative use of them is inhibited partly by fear of social error and partly by the effort required to break the inertia of one's established language habits. He is unaware, in fact, of what present-day English, and especially present-day *spoken* English, is like.

He is unaware, in advance, that even when it is understood his English may be regarded as old-fashioned, bookish and rather Biblical; and that he in turn will find that English people speak too fast for his comprehension.

When he does become aware of these factors and reconciled to them he is likely to find that no organised steps are taken to deal with them in his courses. The generalised expectation that in some unspecified way he would receive help with improving his English is given greater point and urgency by the shocks we have referred to; his frustration and disappointment at the low effectiveness of the instruction he actually receives become the more acid.

THE ORIENTATION OF EXISTING COURSES

In this section I shall make some rather sweeping criticisms which I believe to be justified when one looks at the problem strictly from the point of view of improving the teacher's English. But I am well aware that in fact this particular aim is hardly ever, if at all, included in most of the existing courses in Britain. I am therefore not accusing institutions of doing what they do badly; rather I am denying any assumption that what they do includes any major contribution to improving the teacher's English. And of course there are honourable exceptions to these strictures. A small number of courses for overseas teachers have staff specialists in the teaching of English who work marvels, often with inadequate time-table hours. They deserve our thanks and the thanks of the teachers they help.

The orientation of courses in Britain for overseas teachers varies considerably, but the activities pursued tend to divide into roughly three types: (a) methods of teaching English, especially classroom methodology; (b) English literature; (c) English life and institutions. Many courses include two or all of these. It is in the first that one finds the nearest approach to instruction in line with the needs of the teacher's English. Some, even of these courses, however, have fixated into a posture which, although reasonably *avant-garde* in about 1946, is now distinctly dated. In such cases the English language component is often closely related to text-book content and becomes, without intending to be, almost as restricted as the G.C.E. English Language syllabus which most of the current secondary school English language text-books in use overseas are aimed at. But the teachers do often feel that their problems are being helped by such courses, even though they may later wish that they had been given a broader and more technically detailed view of what present-day English is like.

Courses in English literature have a mixed effect. They often reflect with some accuracy the needs and wishes of students from European countries, while being largely irrelevant to the needs of students from the Commonwealth and South America. *European students are more often than not specialising in literary studies and are destined to teach within the framework of an academic literary tradition.* Students who come from countries in Africa, Asia or South America more often belong to a quite different professional community, where literature is appreciated but is not the central pivot of the teaching, and indeed where the average level of competence in English is lower than among European university students specialising in English literature. For students of English literature such courses undoubtedly provide what is needed: where many people delude themselves is in assuming that courses in literature automatically provide what is needed for the improvement of the teacher's own performance in English language.

This point needs some elaboration since it may seem at first sight to deny the literature specialist's claim that literature embodies all that is best and finest and most subtle in the use of the language. The denial is purely imaginary. On the contrary, most specialists in English language would support the claim. But they would then go on to say that precisely because it is

subtle and creative and special, the language of literary works is *different* from, and cannot be used for teaching, everyday discourse. They would go further and say that because literary works exploit vastly more of the total possible range of linguistic devices, more acquaintance with these devices is needed *before* the impact of literature can be appreciated.

Another source of lost efficiency lies in the choice of staff who teach particular courses. Someone whose interests and training lie above all in language is unlikely to be the most devoted and engaged person to teach courses in literature, and the converse is also true. Specialists in literature are prone to the idea that, because literature is written in language, they know all about language and are therefore best equipped to teach it. Alas, this is hardly ever true. They tend to know a good deal about only a *part* of language, and to be just as unaware as the overseas teacher of the nature of three-quarters of the mechanisms which make up the fabric of English. At all events, in the matter of improving the teacher's English, it is my personal view that courses in literature can play only the most peripheral part, and that only with the most advanced students.

Courses in English life and institutions have even less to be said for them, as a means of improving the teacher's English. Too many of them purvey a kind of 'British Travel & Holidays view' of life in Britain, concentrating on such themes as Buckingham Palace, bearskins and beer. Unless conducted by social scientists in a properly professional manner (which is rare) such courses become folksy and unreal, consuming valuable teaching time that could be better spent in other ways. The phenomena of morris dancing, the ritual decoration of wells in Derbyshire, the election of sheriffs in the City of London, the pub as the major unit in British social life, even the history of local education in England in the nineteenth century—these and similar topics are too often given a major place in serious academic courses for overseas students. Whatever the intrinsic importance of such activities (and I think it minimal) their value for improving English is zero.

The reply to some of these criticisms generally rests on the 'rubbing-off' theory, suggesting that, since the study of institutions involves reading and listening to English, it provides a direct return in the form of greater experience of present-day English. And of course one must admit that sheer quantity

of exposure to a language does help. But I believe that it helps in an extremely inefficient and uncontrolled way, and that indeed it is worth considering as a teaching support *only* for the purpose of consolidating that which has already been taught and learned. At all events, exposure alone cannot be the only criterion, or even the main one. (Incidentally, we should not be surprised at the persistence of this attitude: it is widespread in other branches of language teaching. British university students of French and German, for instance, are usually expected to spend a year in France or Germany in order that their performance in the language may be improved by hearing it in use around them and by having themselves to use it.) The 'rubbing-off' theory is a form of methodological *laissez-faire*. Modern pedagogical thought requires that the most rigorous analysis of the aims and of the teaching task should first be made, and that teaching techniques appropriate to the various stages of the whole process should be elaborated. Only consolidation, habit-forming, the growth of 'facility' and familiarity with foreign-language situations can reasonably be left to the undirected, haphazard effects of 'general exposure', and these should come *after* good teaching, not before or instead of it. To regard the effects of 'rubbing-off' as a major technique in learning is to ignore the advances in language teaching of the past fifteen years and to deprive the individual concerned, in this case the overseas teacher, of all the benefits of intensive, scientifically-based language instruction.

Many of the courses available in Britain have just 'happened'. They have grown up as extensions to or deviations from other courses devised for British students—rather in the way that the use of the School Certificate and G.C.E. examinations by overseas candidates grew out of their mere existence and use in Britain. One result of this unthinking genesis can be seen in the content and techniques they embody. Almost without exception, they lean heavily on the technique of essay-writing, and essay-writing not solely as a device for displaying knowledge and the ability to marshal an argument but equally as a stylistic exercise in producing a particular kind of English prose. Few devices, it might be argued, will be of less direct use to the overseas teacher than competence in the cameo art of essay-writing. The topics covered in these courses are restricted, they are unremittingly highbrow, and they reinforce the view once ex-

teaching should be used to bring about these aims? The answer could well be a fairly simple one. Four main strands would be necessary: a progressive programme of guided listening and reading; a progressive programme of exercises in writing and speaking; a course in which a formal description of present-day English is presented; and a programme of specific remedial work on the individual's own shortcomings.

The label 'guided listening and reading' is not a familiar one in language teaching. What is intended here is that the degree of acquaintance with the varieties and uses of English which has been insisted upon above should be translated into a teaching system. A series of carefully chosen recordings, graded as to difficulty and selected according to the particular varieties and styles of English they illustrate, should be brought together into a homogeneous programme. The overseas teacher would be expected to spend a certain period of time each week—perhaps half an hour a day would be roughly right—in working with this programme, generally on his own. The recordings would be accompanied by transcripts of the texts, and the student (as we must now regard the overseas teacher) may have any one of a number of different tasks to carry out at a given sitting. He may be asked to listen only; he may be asked to listen while simultaneously reading the transcript; he may be asked to listen, read, and then read aloud his own imitation or responses; or he may be asked simply to read, either silently or aloud. And of course various kinds of follow-up work would be devised by his tutors to ensure that the work has actually been done and is producing the necessary results.

Progressive exercises on written English sound less unfamiliar, but both they and the exercises in speaking might well turn out to be considerably different from orthodox teaching courses. The exercises in writing, for example, would only rarely take the form of essays (and even then avoiding titles of a literary or metaphysical nature) but would be likely to let the student try his hand at producing acceptable and authentic examples of all the many varieties of English that he (or his own eventual pupils) are going to encounter. Instructions on how to do complex manipulations (like screwing a nut on to a bolt when it is behind a board so that you can feel it but can't see it); newspaper headlines; accounts of sporting events; descriptions of people or happenings as viewed from different standpoints such as a private

diary or a local newspaper; diplomatic communiqués for real or imagined events; political speeches; broadcast scripts; passages in the style of Durrell, or Damon Runyon or *The Times* fourth leader; television commercials—almost any deliberate exercise is justifiable if it tends towards the development of ability to handle English at will, and with understanding of its variety and variation.

Similarly with speech. Out of the programme of guided listening would come a series of exercises on the expressive use of speech, using variation of pace, of voice-quality, of pitch-range. None of this would lessen the necessity for direct tuition in phonetics and pronunciation—indeed, the two would be linked in a common framework—but such courses might be able to break away from the more formal and restricted ‘accent-breeding’ exercises that still persist, and equally from some of the elocution-biased courses. There is here a whole range of teaching materials waiting to be produced.

In the component of formal description we should envisage a detailed description of the grammar of present-day English, and also its phonetics and phonology; this course would also show the student how to distinguish between the comprehensive description to which he turns for reference, and the selected and reordered ‘teaching description’ which forms the basis of the courses and text-books he will be using in his own classes.

Finally, the specific work on his own personal shortcomings is a type of instruction that should be available, almost as of right, to every overseas teacher who takes a course purporting to offer improvement to his English. Even where the class as a whole is homogeneous in the sense of each member having the same mother tongue and therefore the same regular crop of difficulties and problems, every individual has his own idiosyncrasies, his own heritage of misunderstood teaching or forgotten corrections. It should be the job of some technically competent tutor to investigate the nature of his deficiencies in English (which means carrying out a fairly sophisticated exercise in *diagnostic testing*) and to prescribe for him a rough and rigorous programme of remedial exercises, spoken as well as written.

I have mentioned the four strands of teaching that courses of this kind could well incorporate. In practical classroom terms they would require three main sections to the course: a *general* section, into which would be grouped the lectures about English,

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the presentation of the grammar, etc.; next, an *individual* section, in which there would take place first a detailed diagnosis of each individual and then a series of supervised and solo sessions of remedial work on individual difficulties; and thirdly, a *language-laboratory* section, into which would be grouped most of the *progressive* programmes for becoming familiar with and practising control of the different kinds of English. It is probably true that the possibility of constructing courses such as the one outlined above has been made radically easier since the invention of the language laboratory. Since many of those concerned with courses for overseas teachers are not yet familiar with the potentialities and limitations of this valuable aid, it is worth dealing with language lab. techniques in a separate section.

LANGUAGE LABORATORY AND SIMILAR TECHNIQUES

An erroneous notion has grown up that the language laboratory is useful only for giving full-scale courses to beginners, and that even there it is really only applicable to the teaching of pronunciation. These limitations have seemed to exist because the great majority of teaching materials commercially available have been for these limited purposes, but in fact we have seen only the merest beginnings of the exploitation, for language teaching, of various applications of tape recording. The language laboratory is only one of these applications, but a particularly powerful and effective one, provided that the necessary prerequisites exist for its successful use.

What are these prerequisites? There are three. First, a language laboratory must be provided with adequate arrangements for maintenance and 'stewarding', so that the equipment is kept in full operation and the necessary chores of tape copying, editing, checking, respooling, and so on, are confided to someone at the appropriate technical grade, and are not placed on the much more expensive shoulders of the teaching staff. Second, suitable teaching materials, especially devised to exploit the possibilities and avoid the limitations of the language lab., must be obtained, and since, at the time of writing, there exists little of this kind on the publishers' lists, this means that they must be written for the purpose.

Hence the third prerequisite: a language lab. must be backed by teaching staff who are not only aware of and trained to the

practical task of using the lab. to advantage, but also who have the necessary theoretical and practical training to be able to construct their own materials. (Perhaps to these three there should be added a fourth prerequisite, the allocation to the staff of adequate time to make such materials: it is reckoned that the full process of trial and error, scripting and recording, re-scripting and re-recording, testing and revision, consumes about 100 to 300 man-hours for every hour of finally acceptable classroom material.)

Without these prerequisites, a language laboratory can soon become an expensive electronic junk-heap. With them, it can make a major and economically worthwhile contribution to the greater effectiveness of language teaching.

For our purposes, language lab. techniques can be used in a great many ways. In the more passive or receptive parts of the course we have sketched out, recordings are essential for any programme of guided listening. (Even if one has access only to a tape-recorder, a good deal can be done along these lines; a full language laboratory gives more flexibility.) For listening while simultaneously reading the text; for listening while reading, then reading aloud, then checking back on one's performance; for exercises in intonation and rhythm; for a course on training in expressiveness and for learning how to read prose, or verse, or drama in ways that convey the full intent of the text; for exercises in grammatical problems; for training in identifying the different varieties and styles and levels of formality in English, and then for performing them and checking the accuracy of one's performance—for all such activities as these, and many more, a language laboratory opens up new ways of teaching. Of course there are pitfalls. It is just as easy to teach badly with a language lab. as without one. Boredom can result if care is not taken in designing the materials and when they are being used, and once boredom sets in, learning flies out of the window. But all these drawbacks can be avoided, given sound techniques and organisation.

One should regard language lab. materials rather as one thinks of text-books and ancillary printed books. There is a case, to be sure, for devising a number of complete courses for beginners of various ages and backgrounds and aims; but there is a much stronger case for building up a battery of *partial* materials, taped exercises dealing with specific problems and

difficulties, just as one can turn to books of supplementary drills and exercises on particular points. The British Council's Educational Aids Department is engaged in just this kind of work, and is doing valuable service in giving teachers examples of how one may set about the highly specialised task of creating new materials for this powerful teaching aid.

A final general point about using a language laboratory with adult students may be worth making. It is well known that a language laboratory can be used either as a specially equipped classroom, where all students are working on roughly identical material, or as a form of reference library, where the different students might each be working on quite different material. In my view, both these techniques have their place, but equally, each carries its own particular dangers. Work as a class should always be integrated within the total teaching programme of the students, rather than itself being the sum total of it—that is to say, the language lab. is *an aid to* normal language teaching, not a replacement of it. Secondly, solo work by individual students working on their own in the lab. should always be deliberately set (like homework or other preparation) for a particular reason, it should be monitored from time to time by a competent teacher while it is going on, and it should be tested afterwards. But above all the student should be given some initial training in monitoring and improving his own performance. Working alone in a language lab. *can* bring helpful results, but only if the teacher has prepared the material and trained the student to use it properly.

In discussing some of the ways in which a language lab. can help in putting into operation a special course for the improvement of the overseas teacher's English, I have avoided all reference to audio-visual materials. There is a reason for this. Every language lab. is equipped (or should be) for the projection of still pictures. The production of teaching materials in which visual stimuli are combined with recordings and text can often (though not always) give an even greater impact and produce even more immediate understanding than language lab. materials alone. But apart from certain *ab initio* courses, so little material yet exists, and the time and expense of constructing it are so great, that it seems likely that it will be language lab. techniques which will be the more quickly and readily developed for these purposes in the coming years.

CONCLUSION

A phrase as commonly employed as 'improving the teacher's own English' is likely to have multiple meanings attaching to it. I cannot pretend that the treatment sketched in this chapter is the only possible one. Nevertheless, probing assumptions underlying such terms as 'the teacher's English', and criticising (perhaps harshly for the sake of being provocative) some existing courses and concepts, may provide a stimulus for renewed thought on the subject and encourage some deliberate attempts to reshape courses in English for overseas teachers.

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Fortunately there are excellent large-scale bibliographies to which teacher-trainers may refer. The most useful are listed below in Section 1, which also notes some specialist periodicals. Section 2 lists books which deal with the methodology of English teaching. Section 3 includes a number of background books, suggested by the authors of the various chapters of this book, together with some selected reference works.

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in some parts of the world, that the expression 'trained teacher' does not always mean much, as teaching practice at a training centre is apt to reveal. A measure of initial training then becomes desirable, whatever the teacher's nominal status or qualification. More in mind here, however, are teachers whose training (possibly at the centre itself, possibly not) has been real and who have learned much in an interesting post subsequently. The presence of such teachers at a centre is likely to raise the standard of work, if only through encouraging the staff to make sure of the soundness of their own views, to strengthen their practical and academic qualifications, and to keep up to date with their knowledge. But there is much more to it than this. Relatively experienced teachers can help to enrich the environment in which the inexperienced are trained—by raising the level of discussion, by acting as sources of additional information about certain parts of the world, and by setting an example (unconsciously perhaps) of interest in the art of language teaching. An occasional advanced student with special experience or skill of some kind might be asked to give extra tutoring.

The more advanced and experienced students will be busy with their own lines of study or research, taking advantage of the facilities of the centre—library, tape-recordings, personal contacts, and so on. As far as they are concerned, discussion with tutors may well be exploratory and tentative, to a large extent an exchange of views and experience and a collaborative attempt to solve real problems. This does not mean that the tutor plays a secondary role. An advanced student may have special knowledge and understanding of certain points which the tutor does not have, but if by and large the tutor is less informed and less experienced than a student, he should clearly not be there—or perhaps the student should not be there *in statu pupillari*, but rather as a visiting specialist with lecturing and tutoring responsibility of his own.

Different parts or aspects of the work carried on at the centre are of importance to different kinds of student, yet it is beyond doubt that of the main types of activity already mentioned—acquiring a better command of English, acquiring more awareness of what English is and how it is used, and acquiring more understanding of teaching methods and techniques and more teaching skill—the third is the most essential. To some extent

proficiency under this heading implies proficiency under the other two. The work of a teacher-training centre must be centred on the classroom.

This brings up at once the question of teaching practice. The principal object of training is to ensure as far as possible that the trainees will be competent to teach. No training centre can say anything about their competence in this direction unless it has seen them teaching. Nor is any trainee likely to develop much competence except through ample classroom practice, both with and without a tutor's help. This is so obvious that it should not need saying. Unfortunately teaching practice is often given a very inadequate place.

Naturally there is no reason why teachers, whether experienced or inexperienced, should not study a single aspect of language or of teaching method. A course in phonetics, for instance, may rightly be regarded as strengthening a teacher's qualifications, or a course *about* language-teaching methods as giving him useful information. But no misleading claim should be made; and a centre cannot legitimately be described as a teacher-training centre unless students there are trained to teach in the classroom, and unless practice forms an essential part of the work.

Again, however, there is little to be said for a rigid programme, in any single item of which everybody would be obliged to participate. Supervised teaching practice is mainly for the novice and the unskilled, or for those who seek to prove their ability and to have it confirmed. It cannot reasonably be imposed on experienced and competent teachers, taking supplementary or refresher courses, or conducting research at the centre. Ideally, opportunities for teaching practice without supervision, and certainly without commitment to a test, should be open to these. There needs to be an atmosphere in which teaching experiment can be made and discussed—there is so little recorded experiment in teaching. It should be abnormal for research to be based on print: the researcher's place here is not so much in the library as in the classroom, observing closely what children say and do and experimentally manipulating their environment. At this level of work the usual dichotomy of staff and students must, of course, break down: the centre becomes a creative workshop rather than a place of instruction. The basic work, done with initial trainees or those not yet com-

petent, can only benefit from such creative activity going on all around.

Nevertheless the basic teaching practice remains the principal concern of the centre. Where should it be obtained? How much of it ought there to be? What forms should it take? These questions are dealt with in detail in another chapter (pp. 95-114) and they will therefore be answered summarily here.

Various kinds of facility can be concentrated at a practice school attached to the training centre, yet in fairness to the long-suffering pupils of such an institution it is preferable to spread the burden of teaching practice over a number of schools. Spreading offers, also, a greater variety of teaching conditions. Moreover, except in a few districts, a single school is unlikely to have enough non-English pupils with an inferior command of English to provide the necessary range of practice. A training programme should find time to consider all the stages of language teaching: although no centre need apologise for a *bias* towards the beginning stage, for it is the teaching and learning during the earliest months and years that counts.¹

Accessibility need not mean that the schools are near at hand, though there are clear advantages if the centre is in an immigrant district, for more frequent contact can then be made with the schools, classes can be brought to the centre, and classroom research is easier to conduct. Whole classes of absolute beginners are hard to find in Britain, but useful practice can be had with groups. In the bilingual areas the pupils are apt to know more English than the trainees teaching them, but whole classes are widely available. No one country within easy reach of England offers such a variety of *linguistic* problems as the main immigrant areas in England do, though complete classes and a more normal learning environment (English not being heard much outside the classroom) are both available abroad.

In a one-year course of training there is nothing like enough time for all that should be done, and in spite of its importance it would seem impossible to spare more than a total of nine weeks for teaching practice, of which three weeks might be devoted to

¹ A great deal of the laborious reteaching of so-called intermediate learners would be unnecessary if the foundations had been well laid. Moreover, drastic remedial work can only be carried out as a selective and accelerated version of initial teaching.